LESNES ABBEY

by

A. W. CLAPHAM, F.S.A.

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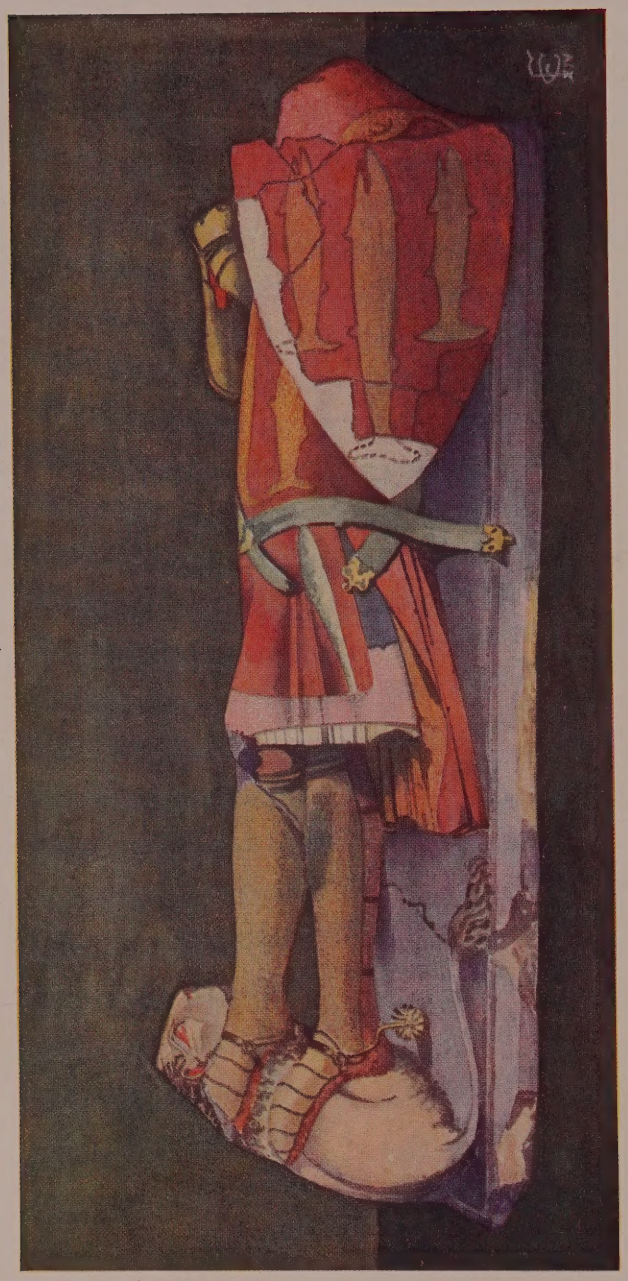


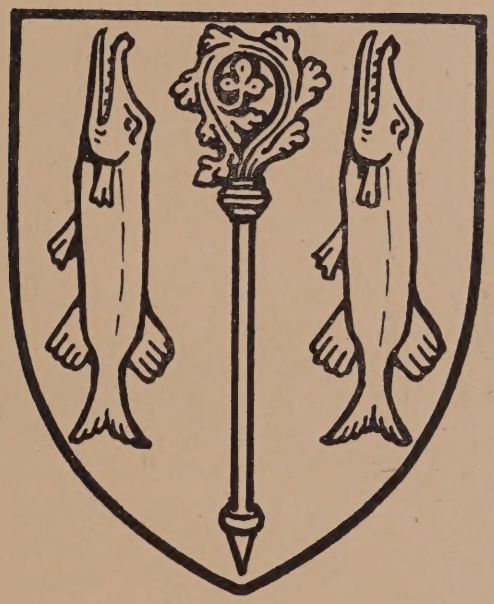
LUCY EFFIGY OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY, SHOWING ORIGINAL COLOUR SCHEME.

LESNES ABBEY

IN THE PARISH OF ERITH, KENT

BY

ALFRED W. CLAPHAM, F.S.A.



Being the Complete Report of the Investigations, Architectural and Historical, carried out by the Works Committee of the Woolwich Antiquarian Society during the years 1909-1913

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CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION i

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS iii

PART I—HISTORY—

THE ABBEY 1

THE SITE AFTER THE DISSOLUTION 37

PART II—THE BUILDINGS—

THE PRECINCT 40

THE GREAT BARN 42

THE CHURCH 43

THE CLOISTER 49

THE SACRISTY 50

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE 50

THE PARLOUR 51

THE DORTER AND WARMING-HOUSE 51

THE RERE-DORTER 53

THE FRATER 53

THE KITCHEN 55

THE WESTERN RANGE 55

THE INFIRMARY 58

THE MISERICORD 59

THE ABBOT'S LODGING 60

THE WATER SUPPLY 61

PART III—OBJECTS FOUND IN THE EXCAVATIONS—

(i) SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS 62

(ii) PAVING TILES 65

(iii) GLASS 67

(iv) ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS 67

(v) MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS 70

APPENDIX A.—LIST OF ABBOTS, ETC. 73

„ B.—THE RULE OF ARROUAISE 75

„ C.—ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS OF THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER . . . 82

„ D.—INJUNCTIONS OF ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM 85

„ E.—NOTE ON THE DISPOSAL OF THE OBJECTS, ETC. 86

INDEX 87

INTRODUCTION

THE intention of the present volume is to provide an adequate account of the history and extant remains of an Augustinian Abbey which in both its aspects has hitherto filled but a small space in Archæological literature. The Abbey of Lesnes never occupied a place amongst the 'great solemn abbies' of England, but its history presents certain points of more general interest than a dry catalogue of successive Abbots, or a series of petty squabbles with its neighbours, which forms the staple material for the story of many a monastic house. Lesnes furthermore occupies a very limited space in the standard works on monastic history, and this in spite of the fact that the documentary sources of information are unusually prolific. These circumstances are, I think, sufficient to excuse the somewhat extended account which is here presented. With regard to its architectural history, the extensive remains which have been brought to light by the recent excavation of the site are amply worthy, as the sequel will show, of a full and complete description.

The excavation of the site of the Abbey was primarily due to the energy and initiative of Mr. W. T. Vincent, President of the Woolwich Antiquarian Society, who in 1909 collected the nucleus of the excavation fund and himself started the work. Since that time the work has gone on, mostly under my own supervision, until 1913, when it was decided that its continuance would be unlikely to provide any adequate return. The result has been the recovery of the complete plan of the church and claustral block, of the infirmary, and of some subsidiary buildings, and in view of the comparatively low expenditure must be looked upon as eminently satisfactory.

In the elucidation of the various features of the plan, I have to acknowledge the valuable help of Mr. C. R. Peers, Hon. Sec. S.A., Sir W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., D.C.L., and other gentlemen, who visited the site during the progress of the work and kindly gave me their views. To Mr. Peers also I am deeply indebted for having read the proofs of this volume and for many corrections and suggestions which have added considerably to its accuracy.

The executive work of the excavations was carried on by a Works Committee of the Woolwich Antiquarian Society, whose support and sustained interest in the undertaking has added greatly to its success. In this connexion Mr. Frank Spiers, who

acted as Curator of the temporary museum, has completed a valuable service by superintending the arrangement of such of the finds as have been removed to the parish church of Erith.

The following is a list of the Works Committee: Mr. W. T. Vincent, President, Woolwich Antiquarian Society (*Chairman and Treasurer of Works Committee*); Mr. A. W. Clapham, F.S.A. (*Director of Works*); Mr. Frank E. Spiers, Hon. Sec., Upper Norwood Athenæum (*Curator*); Mr. F. C. Elliston-Erwood (*Hon. Sec., Works Committee*); Mr. J. J. Collins, M.B.D.A.; Mr. F. W. Machen; Mr. W. H. Mandy, B.A.; Mr. F. W. Nunn, Hon. Sec., Greenwich Antiquarian Society; Mr. Francis W. Reader; *Mr. Ernest H. Wright, P.A.S.I., Hon. Sec., Woolwich Antiquarian Society (*Resigned*), October, 1911; *Mr. J. Borthwick Panting, F.R.P.S. (*deceased*), January, 1911.

The excavations were rendered possible by the kind permission of the Governors of Christ's Hospital, the freeholders, whose attitude was uniformly sympathetic, and also by the co-operation of their tenant, Mr. Baldock.

The greater part of the historical information contained in the first two chapters has already appeared in the Transactions of the Woolwich Antiquarian Society, but further investigation has modified some of my earlier conclusions, and many additional facts have since come to light. Most of this additional information has been collected by Mr. W. H. Mandy, B.A., who has very generously placed it at my disposal.

With regard to the illustrations of this volume, the photographs are almost without exception provided by Mr. F. W. Nunn, whose work in this respect has been unremitting. The photographs of the effigy are reproduced by permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Mr. F. C. Elliston-Erwood is responsible for the pages of architectural details, the drawing of the effigy, for other drawings which bear his name, and for the index to this volume. Mr. H. J. Powell kindly provided two drawings of the stained glass, and I am personally indebted to the Rev. E. E. Dorling, F.S.A., for his excellent delineation of the Abbey arms, which appears upon the cover, and to Mr. J. W. Bloe for revising the English rendering in Appendix B. The historical ground plan has been plotted from my own measurements by Mr. E. G. Newnum, A.R.I.B.A.

A. W. Clapham.

London, 1915.

* At the end of 1918 Messrs. A. E. Rogers and R. C. Frost came on the Committee in place of these two members.

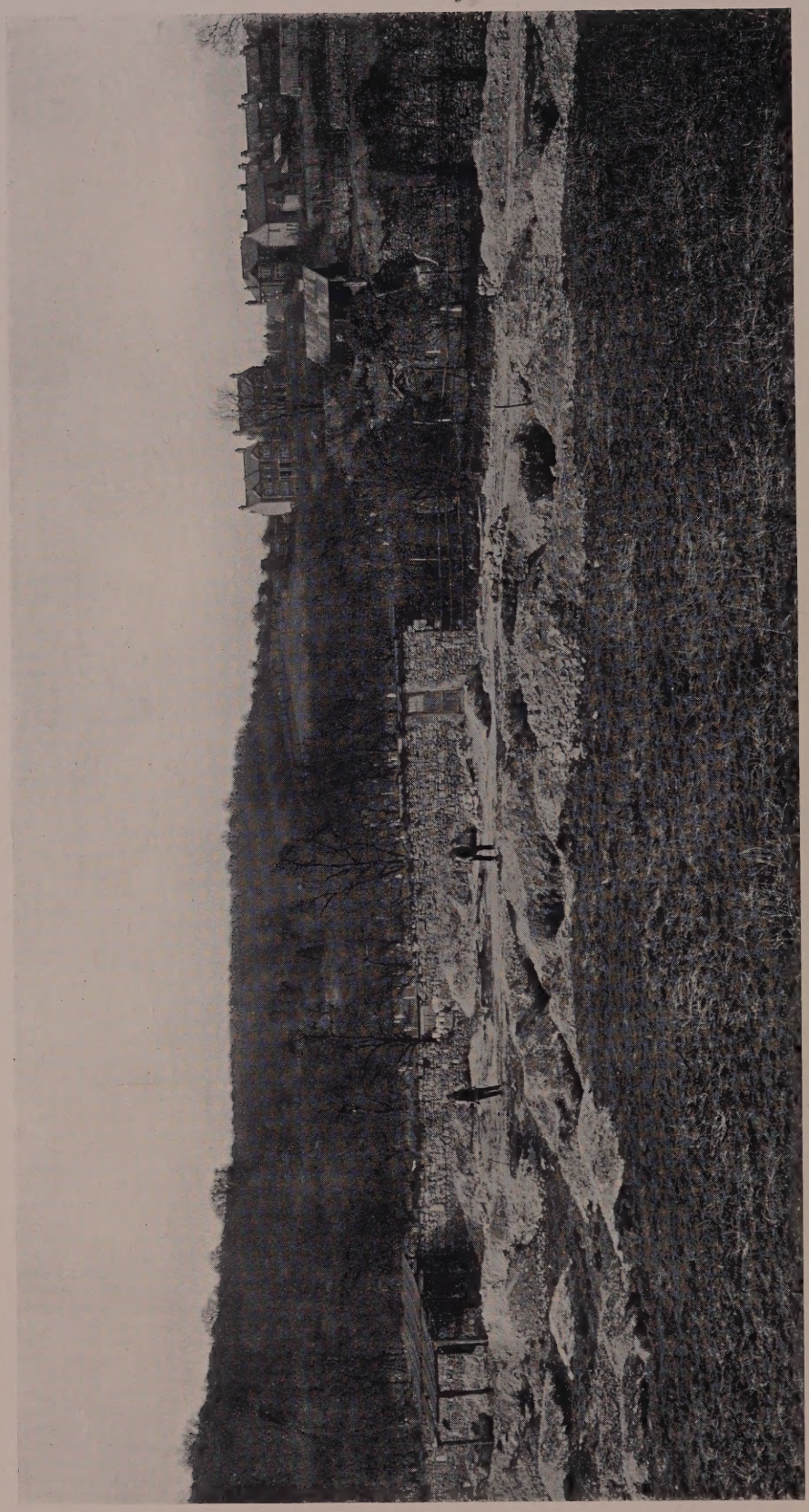
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

			Facing Page
Frontispiece.		Lucy Effigy of the Fourteenth century, showing original colour scheme	—
Plate	I.	General view of Excavations looking West	1
Plate	II.	Lesnes Abbey Farm as Existing and Lesnes Marsh, looking North	8
Plate	III.	The Abbey Site in 1752 and The Frater in 1752 (Stukeley Drawings, Brit. Museum)	11
Plate	IV.	The Abbey Seals	14
Plate	V.	The Abbots' Lodging, from the North-east, and the Abbots' Lodging from the South-east	17
Plate	VI.	Abbey Barn, interior, and Abbey Barn, exterior	24
Plate	VII.	Stone Coffin in Presbytery, Respond in North Aisle of Nave, and Division Wall between Chapels in North Transept	26
Plate	VIII.	North-west Buttress of Nave and North-west Doorway of Nave	31
Plate	IX.	Pier of Eastern Arcade of North Transept and East Wall and Altar base in North Transeptal Chapel	32
Plate	X.	Internal Plinth in North Transept and Sunk Chamber in Lady Chapel	41
Plate	XI.	South-west Pier of Central Tower	43
Plate	XII.	Details of Tower Piers, Aisle and Transept Responds	45
Plate	XIII.	Cloister, looking South-west, and Cloister and North Wall of Frater	46
Plate	XIV.	Chapter-House, Jamb of the Doorway, Doorway and Coffin Lids	49
Plate	XV.	The Dorter Stairs and Doorway South-west of Cloister	50
Plate	XVI.	Frater Pulpit, Stairs in Warming House and Fireplace in Warming House	55
Plate	XVII.	North Wall of Nave, Exterior, and Doorway, South-west of Cloister, West Face	56
Plate	XVIII.	The 'Conduit Pond' and Old Well, South of Precinct	59
Plate	XIX.	Lucy Effigy, Top and Right Side	60
Plate	XX.	Lucy Effigy, Left Side, and two views of Lion at Feet	61
Plate	XXI.	Paving Tiles found on the site	62
Plate	XXII.	„ „ „ „	66
Plate	XXIII.	„ „ „ „	71
Plate	XXIV.	Late Twelfth century Capitals, (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) from the Chapter House, (*d*) probably from the Cloisters	72
Plate	XXV.	Architectural Fragments	*Following* 72
Plate	XXVI.	Miscellaneous Objects	„ 72
		Historical Ground Plan	„ 72

BLOCKS IN THE TEXT

		PAGE
	Arms of Abbey	Title Page
Fig. 1.	Plan of Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate	3
Fig. 2.	Brass of Roger Sencler, 1425	34
Fig. 3.	Plan of site in 1655	38
Fig. 4.	Plan of Precinct	41
Fig. 5.	Sunk Chamber in Lady Chapel, plan and section	47
Fig. 6.	Serving Hatch in Frater, details	54
Fig. 7.	Doorway South-west of Cloister	57
Fig. 8.	Fragment of an Effigy	63
Fig. 9.	Indents of Brasses	62
Fig. 10.	Coffin Lids from Chapter House	64
Fig. 11.	Portion of a Coffin Lid found in the Presbytery	65
Fig. 12.	Diagram of Paving Tiles	66
Fig. 13.	„ „ „	67
Fig. 14.	Fragments of Stained Glass	68
Fig. 15.	„ „ „	69
Fig. 16.	„ „ „	69
Fig. 17.	Scolloped Capital	70
Fig. 18.	Capital and Base	70
Fig. 19.	Section of Stone Object	71



GENERAL VIEW OF EXCAVATIONS LOOKING WEST.

PART I—HISTORY

The Abbey

ERITH, or, as it was anciently called, Lesnes, is a rapidly growing town on the south bank of the Thames estuary, in the Lathe of Sutton-at-Hone and the Hundred of Little and Lesnes. The parish is divided from east to west into two parts, the northern being the flat alluvium of Erith and Lesnes Marshes, and the southern the rising beds of sand and gravel of Abbey Wood and the adjoining hills. The dividing line formed the old coast-line of the Thames estuary and so remained until the building of the Thames wall and the embanking of the Marshes confined the river to its present limits. The ancient name is variously written Lesnes, Lessness, Liesnes, Lesney, Leosnes, Lesons, and Lesing.

The site of the Abbey of Lesnes is situated on the western border of the parish. The buildings stood upon an almost flat ledge of land sloping down on the north to the coast-line and rising more steeply behind in the tree-covered slopes of Westwood and Bostall (see Plate I). Two miles to the south ran the great road from London to Canterbury, and a by-road, leading from Plumstead to Erith, skirted the precincts upon the north.

The county of Kent, at the close of the Middle Ages, contained six houses of the Augustinian Order, but, with the exception of Ledes (or Leeds) Priory, all of them were comparatively poorly endowed. The sites are known, but the existing architectural remains are unusually scanty; Tonbridge and Cumbwell have entirely disappeared; St. Gregory, Canterbury, is represented by a few unimportant fragments, while the great Priory of Ledes, with its apsidal conventual Church and eastern crypt, has been but partially excavated and is now again buried from sight. Bilsington Priory alone retains any important portion of its monastic building, and even here, until excavations are undertaken, it is impossible to say to what portion of the structure the existing building is to be assigned.

The Abbey of Lesnes was second in value of these Kentish houses and was one of the two Augustinian Convents in the diocese of Rochester. The neighbourhood was, however, well supplied with houses of other religious orders, for, within a few miles, were the Dominican Nunnery of Dartford, the alien Priory of Lewisham, and the

Franciscan Observants of Greenwich, while, across the river, the great Benedictine Abbey of Barking—the most ancient Nunnery in England—stood almost opposite, upon the low banks of the Roding River. The lands of the Abbey in Erith and Plumstead marched with those of several other conventual establishments, the Cathedral Priory of Rochester, the Abbeys of St. Augustine and Westminster, and the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, all holding considerable tracts of land in the immediate neighbourhood.

The Church and Manor of Lesnes had in the time of King Stephen come into the hands of Richard de Lucy, the subsequent founder of the Abbey, but at this time he had no intention of founding a Convent of his own, for, toward the close of Stephen's reign, he bestowed the advowson of the Church upon the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Aldgate, a gift which was subsequently confirmed by his son Geoffrey.(1)

1178 It was not until June 11, 1178, that Richard de Lucy founded the Abbey of St. Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr at Westwood in Lesnes for Canons regular of the Order of St. Augustine, and there is little doubt that the establishment was in some sort an act of voluntary penance on the part of de Lucy for the action he had taken against Thomas à Becket, and may well have been inspired by the Royal foundation of Waltham, begun in 1177, the outcome of the political penitence of Henry II.

The founder's important position and distinguished career secured a notice of his foundation by most of the contemporary annalists: Matthew of Westminster, Roger of Wendover, Roger Hoveden, Ralph of Coggeshall, and others, all duly recording the first establishment of Lesnes Abbey.

1179 William 1st Abbot Gervaise of Canterbury adds some few further details. Under the date 1179 he records that Walter, Bishop of Rochester, blessed the first Abbot of Lesnes, and in the same year, in the month of July, notes the death of 'Richard de Lucy, who, having assumed the religious habit, ended his days in the Church of Lesnes and was buried in the Chapter-house.'(2) The first Abbot's name was William.

Richard de Lucy resigned the office of Chief Justiciar and became a Canon of Lesnes 'after Easter,' 1179,(3) (Easter occurring that year on April 1st) and, as he died on July 14th following,(4) he can only have spent about three months in his retirement.

One other authority on the foundation remains to be mentioned, and this is to be found in a small vellum-bound volume in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, amongst the miscellaneous notes of a Canon of the Abbey *temp.* Henry VII(5), (probably William Bayse, Sub-Prior). The note runs as follows:—

'Mem.: That the Abbey of Lesnes was founded in King Harry's days the Second, in the year of our Lord, ab incarnatione, 1178, by Sir Richard Lucy, knight, and he deceased

(1) Bodleian Library, 'Codex Rawlinsoniani,' B 461.
(2) The historical works of Gervaise of Canterbury, Rolls Series, Vol. I, pp. 277, 292, 293.
(3) Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden, Rolls Series, Vol. II, p. 190.
(4) Weever's 'Ancient Funeral Monuments,' p. 336.
(5) Corpus Christi, Oxford, MS. No. 265.

a year after and 7 weeks, so that the place was not finished, nor sufficient livlyhood given to it, for it was at his death of no more livlyhood but 9 marks a year.'

The accuracy of the latter portion of this note is somewhat doubtful, as the founder unquestionably endowed his Abbey with considerable lands in the parish of Erith,

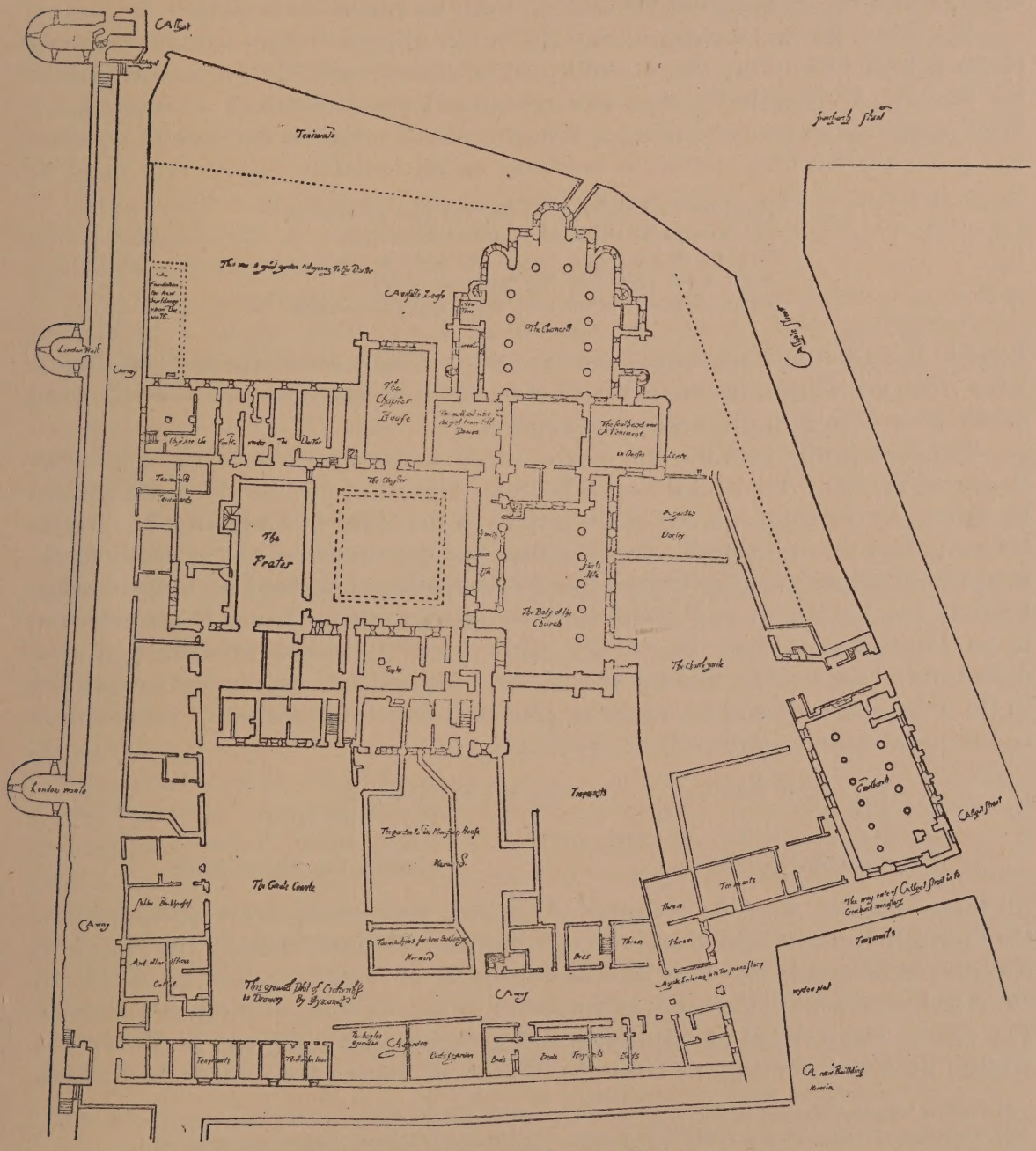


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF HOLY TRINITY (OR CHRIST CHURCH) PRIORY, ALDGATE
(From a late 16th century drawing at Hatfield House, by J. Symonds)

together with the advowsons of the Churches of Newington-by-Sittingbourne and Marden, Kent. The Abbey held, moreover, one of the Manors of Lesnes at a very early date, but possibly this was by gift of one of the founder's immediate successors. The second Manor of Lesnes he certainly retained and transmitted to his successors, together with the patronage of the Abbey, which its possession implied.

The site of Richard de Lucy's tomb is a matter of some doubt. Gervaise expressly places it in the Chapter-house, a position in accordance with the common custom of the time (cf. William de Warenne at Lewes and Roger de Mowbray at Byland), but Weever, quoting an ancient Cottonian MS., mentions the choir as the place of sepulture and prints the following epitaph as occurring on his tomb(1):

'Rapitur in tenebras Richardus lux Luciorum
Justicie pacis dilector et urbis honorum
Christe sibi requies tecum sit sede piorum
Julia tunc orbi lux bis septena nitebat
Mille annos C novem et septuaginta movebat.'

Possibly both accounts are correct and that at some later period the body was translated from the Chapter-house to the Church, which at the time of his death could hardly have been even approaching completion.

The Canons who were the first inhabitants of Lesnes Abbey were drawn from the Priory of the Holy Trinity (or Christ Church), Aldgate,(2) an important Augustinian house founded in 1108, and one of the earliest of the Order in England. De Lucy in his early days was a benefactor to this house, and the connexion was evidently maintained until his death. The original foundation charter of Richard de Lucy is unfortunately lost, but the terms of the confirmation charter of King Henry II are preserved in an Inspeximus of June 15, 1317.(3) This charter is in the usual form of such documents: 'soc and sac, thol and theam, and infangentheof' and the rest are granted to the Abbey for ever, and the following gifts of Churches (in addition to the founder's endowments already mentioned) are confirmed:

Raynham, Essex, ...	by gift of	Henry II.
Elmdon ,, ...	,,	Robert de Lucy
Ramsden Bellhouse, Essex	,,	Roger, son of Reufrid
Coldred (? Coldreia).. ..	,,	Jordain the Chamberlain

All these Churches, with the exception of Coldred, were subsequently appropriated to the Convent, together with those of Newington and Merdon (Marden), the Church of Ramsden Bellhouse in the time of Richard, Bishop of London(4) (Richard de Ely ?), but it had passed out of the hands of the Abbey by the beginning of the 14th century.(5) The charter was granted at Gloucester and is witnessed by William de Mandeville, William de Albini, Ranulph de Granville, William de Braose the younger, and others.

(1) Weever 'Ancient Funeral Monuments,' p. 336. (2) Bodleian Library, 'Codex Rawlinsoniani,' B. 461.
(3) 'Calendar of Charter Rolls,' 1300–1326, p. 341. (4) Bodleian Library, Kent Charter Rolls, 4.
(5) Newcourt Repertorium Ramsden Bellhouse.

A copy of the charter of Robert de Lucy is preserved amongst the State Papers of Henry VIII.(1) He calls himself Robert, son of Robert de Lucy, and continues: 'Be it known, that I have given, for the love of God and the good estate of my most dear lord Richard de Lucy, and for the souls of my father and mother and of all the faithful, to the Abbey which the said lord Richard de Lucy founded at Westwood, in Lesnes, in honour of God and the blessed Thomas the Martyr and the regular Canons there serving God, the Church of Elmendon, in free and perpetual alms, to have and to hold the said Church, wholely and fully and honourably, with all liberties and free customs,' etc. From the fact that Richard de Lucy was still alive this charter must be dated 1178 or early 1179.

From another charter(2) it appears that this Robert was brother to Walter de Lucy, Abbot of Battle, who is known to have been brother to Richard, the founder of Lesnes; thus Robert de Lucy (the elder) was the father of all three brothers.

The early genealogy of the Lucy family and the connexion between its various branches is a subject which needs considerable elucidation. The charters already quoted give evidence of two sons of Richard de Lucy, Geoffrey and Godfrey (Bishop of Winchester), and Richard, who succeeded to his lands, is generally asserted to have been the son of Geoffrey. There were, however, a number of collateral branches whose actual relationship to the main line it is at present impossible to determine. These are—(1) Reynold de Lucy, who endowed the Abbey of Lesnes late in the 12th century with half the Church of Walkestead or Godstone, Surrey, the other half becoming the property of Tandridge Priory, the two Convents presenting in turn to the living;(3) (2) Anselm de Lucy, who granted to the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr of Lesnes, for the health of his soul and for the soul of Richard de Lucy, his father, and Richard Montfichet, his son, 40*s*. of rent out of its land in Thorney by Stowmarket, Suffolk;(4) (3) Raymund de Lucy, who appears as witness to a charter (*temp.* Henry II) to the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate;(5) and lastly, (4) Geoffrey de Lucy, Constable of Berkhampstead Castle, 1223. Leland has a note to the effect that 'Lucy of Kent founded Lesnes Abbey in Kent and dwelt there, giving much of his lands to it and was there buried; and also Catherine Lucy, by likelyhood his wife, came out of the house of Cockermouth,' but the statement lacks evidence.(6) The later line of the Lucys of Newington, Kent, were undoubtedly related to the original stock, but in what degree it is at present impossible to determine.

1183 The first Abbot, William, is the principal witness of the grant by Hamo of the Church of Ditton to the Augustinian Canons of Leeds. While the deed is undated, the confirmation grant by the Bishop of Rochester, Gilbert de

(1) P. Records Off. 'State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537.
(2) 'Essex Archæological Society Trans.,' Vol. VII, N.S., p. 198.
(3) 'Calendar of Charter Rolls,' Edward II. Inspeximus of Charter of John.
(4) Bodleian Library, 'Kentish Charters,' Roll 4.
(5) Bodleian Library, 'Codex Rawlinsoniani,' B. 461, No. 7.
(6) Leland's 'Itinerary,' L. T. Smith's Edition, Vol. IV, p. 74.

Glanville, recites that the gift was made during the episcopate of his predecessor, Gualeranus (Waleran). As Waleran was Bishop only from A.D. 1182 to 1184 an approximate date of the grant is A.D. 1183.(1)

1185 Another mention of this Abbot occurs in a pleading of the seventh of Richard I and the ninth of John, referring to the Church of Raynham.(2) The portion relating to the Abbey runs as follows:

The Prior of the Hospital of John of Jerusalem sues the Abbot of Lesnes for the advowson of the Church of Renham as appendant to the Manor of Renham, which he has by gift of Gilbert de Vere, and he asserts that this Manor with its appurtenances, being the property of the said Gilbert de Vere, was confirmed to him by the Royal Assent given at Oxford in 1180. The Prior further pleads a deed of Gilbert de Vere in which Gilbert de Vere gives the Manor of Renham with its appurtenances to the Hospital of St. John as above, certain rents being therein reserved, and he pleads a confirmation thereof by Kings Richard and John. To this the Abbot's attorney pleads that when the Manor of Renham was in King Henry II's hands, and before Gilbert de Vere had any rights in it, King Henry gave the Church to the Abbey of Lesnes at the request of Richard de Luci. He also pleads further deeds to the same purport, and further, a deed of Gilbert, Bishop of London, which confirms the said Church to him, and which witnesses that Osbert, the Dean, who was Rector of the same Church, resigned the Church into the hands of the Bishop, and that he himself when the Church was vacant gave it to Master Walter de Insula as Rector, and after Walter's decease he gave it to King Henry for the Abbot of Lesnes, and he himself inducted the Abbot of Lesnes into corporal possession. He pleads further a deed of Richard, Bishop of London, which confirmed the grant of the Church of Renham. He pleaded further a certain indenture in which it is contained that William the Abbot, at the petition of the said Gilbert, gave permission for ministrations to be held in the private chapel of the Manor House which Gilbert had made, in the name of the Mother Church of Renham and of the Abbot of Lesnes, but the covenant specifies that this permission may be withheld in certain events. He further pleaded a document bearing the seal of Gilbert, which Gilbert de Vere directed to Archbishop Richard of Canterbury, in which it is contained that while Renham was in King Henry's own hands and had no Rector, he gave that Church to the Abbot of Lesnes.

The recited indenture must be dated *circa* 1185.

Morant, the historian of Essex, in his account of Rainham, becomes somewhat confused over the ownership of this Manor, and throws doubts on the existence of Gilbert de Vere, which this document and other notices in the Pipe rolls, etc., entirely set at rest. It is indeed probable that he is identical with the Gilbert de Vere who became Prior of the Hospitallers in 1195.

1190 In the first year of his reign Richard I granted his charter of confirmation, dated at Vezelay (the rendezvous of the 3rd Crusade) on July 3rd, the signatories including: Walter (de Coutances) Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Bath (Savaric ?), William de Forz, William Marshall and Hugh Bardolph. The Abbey had by this time secured further grants of land in Acholt (by Dartford), London, Sutton, and Raynham.(3)

(1) Thorpe, 'Registrum Roffense,' p. 318, *sub* Ditton.
(2) 'Placitorum Abbreviatio,' Rolls Edition, p. 98.
(3) 'Calendar of Charter Rolls,' 1300–1326, p. 342.

Fulc 2nd Abbot 1197

The name of the second Abbot of Lesnes, Fulc, occurs in a charter to Strood Hospital (*c.* 1194)(1) and a quitclaim of November 14, 1197, of Geoffrey Fitzpiers to Fulco, the Abbot, and the Convent of Lesnes of his right of pasture in North Ocholte,(2) which the said Geoffrey claimed to be the common pasture of Sutton. For this the Abbot and Convent gave to William de Wrotham and his heirs thirty acres of land in Ocholte, lying between Le Haec and the land of Simon le Hert, to be held of them for ever by one pound of cummin per annum.

The rule of Fulc over the Abbey was of considerable importance in its history, as it was in all probability during his Abbacy that the Convent accepted the rule of, and became affiliated to, the Order of Arrouaise. In Gosse's history of the Order, the Abbey of Lesnes appears in his list of English houses (though by error he has transcribed a D instead of the initial L) together with the name of Fulc, the only Abbot of the house recorded in the necrology of Arrouaise, whose obit was kept on March 8th.(3) From this it seems probable that Fulc was the first Abbot under the new régime, or possibly was himself responsible for the affiliation. That Lesnes remained an Arrouaisian house is proved by a mention of the fact in a Papal Letter of 1411, relating to Roger Palmer, Canon of the house. The connexion is of particular interest as the Order was but little known in England; and, as it is hardly touched upon in Dugdale or Stevens, a few details are necessary to explain its character and position.

The Abbey of Arrouaise, founded in 1090, was situated in the forest of that name, in the diocese of Arras, and was one of the richest and most powerful Convents in the north of France. It was ruined at the Revolution, and a few inequalities in the ground not far from the road between Bapaume and Peronne are all that now mark its site. Early in the 12th century it became the head of a reformed branch of the great Augustinian Order, the complete rule, containing 202 chapters, being confirmed by Pope Eugenius III on December 5, 1145. Some thirty houses in France, Germany, and the Low Countries became affiliated to it, and the new Order, spreading to England, numbered at one time amongst its members the Cathedral Priory of Carlisle, the Abbeys of Dorchester, Lilleshall, Northampton (St. James), Bourne, Missenden and Nutley, and the Priories of Warter and Ardbury. Amongst its peculiar regulations was one making it incumbent upon every Canon to learn the Psalter by heart. Chapter 136 of the rule gives special directions as to the vestments to be used—from Easter to the Feast of All Saints, at Saturday vespers, on Sundays, on the Feast days on which no work was done, and at High Mass, in processions (with certain exceptions) the community were to be vested in surplices, and from All Saints' Day to Easter copes only were to be used. There were likewise some interesting directions for the treatment of the sick, and, after his receiving extreme unction, the brethren of a dying Canon were enjoined to sing the Seven Penitential Psalms in his ears until he passed

(1) Thorpe, 'Registrum Roffense,' p. 641. (2) 'Pedes Finum 9th,' Richard I, No. 138.
(3) 'Histoire de l'Abbaye et de l'ancienne congrégation des Chanoines Réguliers d'Arrouaise.' Par M. Gosse. Lille, 1786.

away. A special use for reading the divine office was instituted, and, finally, the Abbots and heads of the affiliated houses had to attend the General Chapter at Arrouaise once a year, on St. Matthew's Day (September 21st). Such were some of the features of the Order of St. Augustine according to the institution of St. Nicholas of Arrouaise. The connexion between the various Convents of the Order was always a loose one, and later on the institution became little more than a name used occasionally to shield its members from certain duties and obligations incumbent upon the other houses of the Augustinian Order.

The precise date of Fulc's death is unknown, but his coffin slab has been found, near the centre of the Chapter-house; the inscription describes him as 'the good Abbot Fulc.'

1199 An agreement was come to in 1199(1) between the Canons of Lesnes and those of Holy Trinity Priory, London, 'matrix ecclesia de Liesnes,' regarding certain marsh lands in Lesnes described as being on the Thames 'on the west side of the house of Seagrim the Younger, the which house is to the east of Bruchfleote and in the marsh of the Lord of Lesnes.' The land was conceded to the Canons of Lesnes in consideration of an annual rent of 50 shillings paid quarterly.

1204 On the death of Richard de Lucy the family patronage was continued by Godfrey de Lucy, his son, who had entered the Church, and became Bishop of Winchester (1189–1204). He was a great builder at his Cathedral, where he erected the retro-choir and part of the Lady Chapel, and, as he is also recorded as a benefactor to his father's house at Lesnes, he may possibly have completed the Church and buildings there. A charter of his to the Abbey is preserved amongst the muniments of the chapter of Worcester.(2) In it he grants to the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr, of Lesnes, and the Canons there, his house in the Strand, with its buildings, etc., 'saving this, that John de Lucy, so long as he shall live, shall have and hold the said house with all its appurtenances, paying half a mark of silver annually to the said Canons of Lesnes.' (From a deed of sale in the same archives it appears that this John de Lucy was an illegitimate son of the Bishop.) Godfrey's grant is witnessed by Ph. de Lucy, Robert de Lucy, and others, and it is dated Winchester, 25th Aug., anno. pontif. XV° (1204).

No further mention is made of this house, and it is not improbable, from the occurrence of the deed at Worcester, that it was parted with soon after, to that See and became the town-house of the Bishops, which stood in the Strand.

Godfrey de Lucy died the same year (December 2, 1204), and, as in the case of his father, there is a conflict of evidence as to the place of his burial. Weever, quoting

(1) Bodleian Library, 'Codex Rawlinsoniani,' B. 461, p. 59.
(2) Hist. MSS. Commission Report XIV, Part 8, p. 194.

LESNES ABBEY FARM AS EXISTING.

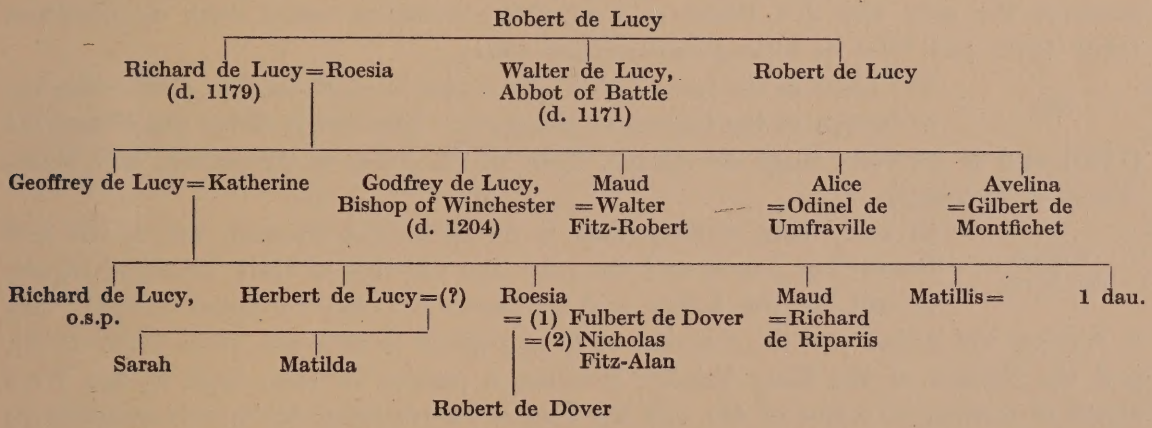
LESNES MARSH LOOKING NORTH.

the same manuscript as before, asserts that he was buried in the Church at Lesnes, and gives the following epitaph(1):

'Lux mea lux Christi si terre ventre quiesco
Attamen in celo sanctorum luce lucesco
Presul de Winton fueram quondam Cathedratus
Multum resplendens et alto sanguine natus
Nunc id sum quod eris puluis rota non retinenda
Volvitur invigila prudens nec differ agenda
M.C. bis quatuorque annos his insuper addas
Carnis vincla dies soluit secunda Decembris
Vos qui transitis ancillam poscite Christi
Sit Dominus mitis pulso purgamine tristi.'

Notwithstanding this, a tomb is still shown in the retro-choir at Winchester as Bishop Godfrey's, and Rudbourne distinctly states that he was 'buried without the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin' there.(2) Possibly the monument at Lesnes was only a cenotaph.

The immediate descendants of Richard de Lucy connected with the Abbey give the following genealogy(3):



1206 A further charter of confirmation was granted to the Abbey by King John and is dated at Dover April 4th, in the seventh year of his reign (1206). It contains a full list of the endowments of the house to that date, and these include the whole marsh of Ore, near Sittingbourne, by gift of Robert de Dover (great-grandson of Richard de Lucy); certain houses and land in Monkswell, London, by gift of Hugo of London; by gift of Robert de Rokenla, the whole of his land in Clopton, Cambridgeshire; Church land in Lesnes, by gift of Roesia de Dover (granddaughter of the founder); and various other grants of lands and tenements in

(1) Weever, 'Ancient Funeral Monuments,' p. 337. (2) Wharton, 'Anglia Sacra,' Part I, p. 286.
(3) See 'The Heirs of Richard de Lucy.' J. H. Round. 'The Genealogist,' N.S., Vol. XV, p. 129. And Wrottesley's 'Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls,' p. 484.

Dartford, Sutton-at-Hone, Banton and London. The charter is witnessed by J. (John de Gray), Bishop of Norwich; P. (Peter des Roches), Bishop elect of Winchester; Joscelin, elect of Bath; William (Longespée), Earl of Salisbury, and others.(1) Subsequent grants of about this date include lands in Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire, from Richard Avanel(2); in Greenwich, by St. Alphege Church, from Walkelin of Greenwich; and in Thorney, Suffolk, from Anselm de Lucy.(3) The advowson of one other Church came into the hands of the Canons of Lesnes—Aveley in Essex—but this was by purchase early in the 14th century,(4) the Rectory being subsequently appropriated to them. The Church of Coldred is mentioned for the last time in John's charter, nothing further being heard of it in connexion with Lesnes.

Mark 3rd Abbot

Amongst the muniments of Canterbury Cathedral is preserved a document of very considerable interest. It is a petition from Mark, Abbot of Lesnes, to Prior J. and the Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, that he (the Abbot) may be allowed to have a Chapel in his house in the parish of Paternosterchurch (St. Michael, Paternoster Royal, London), the parish being in the gift of the Convent of Christ Church. To this document are appended the seal of Abbot Mark and the common seal of the Abbey. It is evident that the house referred to served as the London inn of the Abbots of Lesnes, the date being probably early in the 13th century, the only two J.'s Priors of Canterbury available being John de Chatham (1205–1217) and John de Sittingbourne (1222–1234).

1220

The name of the same Abbot occurs also in an Essex fine, concerning the advowson of the Church of Rainham. This fine is dated 4th Henry III (1220) and is between Hugh de Alneto, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, and Mark, Abbot of Lesnes.(5)

William 4th Abbot

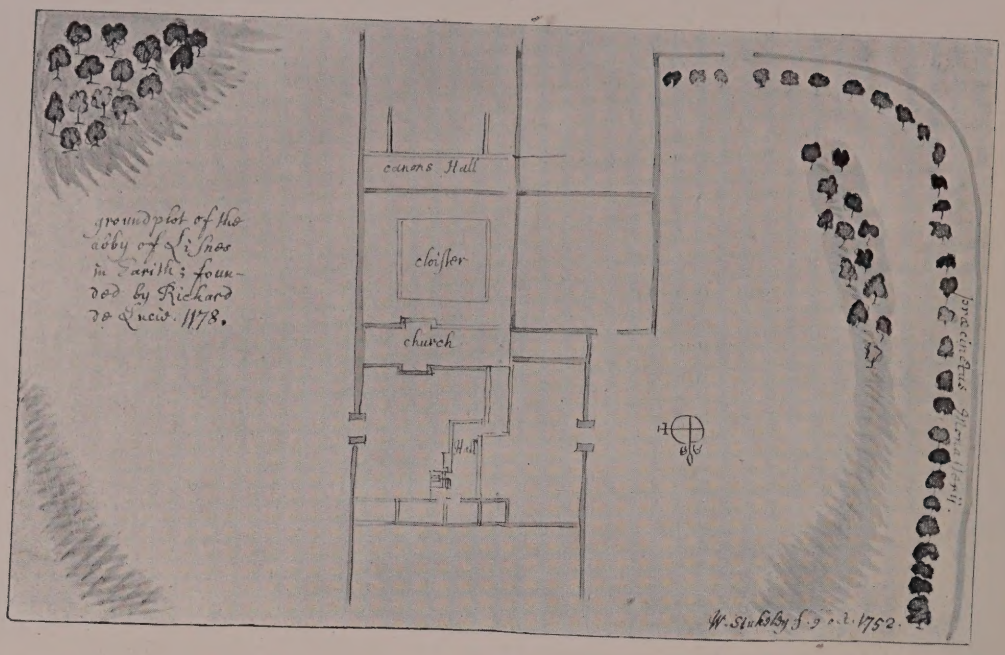
Of early 13th century date is an agreement between the Abbot and Convent of Lesnes and the Prior and Convent of Holy Trinity, Aldgate. It still has the Abbey seal attached, and may be dated *c.* 1230. By it William the Abbot and the Convent of Lesnes grant to Richard, Prior (1223–1250), and the Canons of the Holy Trinity, London, a portion of their land in the West Marsh of Lesnes, for a fine of 40*s.* and the sum of twelve pence to be paid annually.(6)

Hugh 5th Abbot 1235

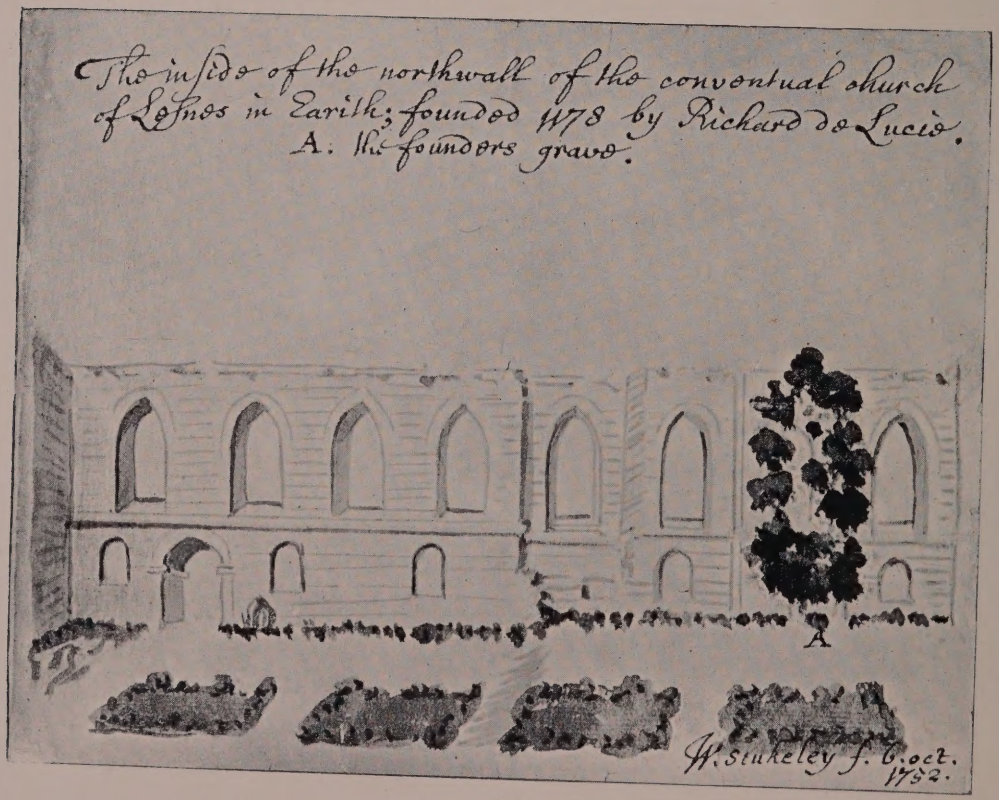
In a fine of 19th Henry III (A.D. 1235), Hugh, Abbot of Lesnes, is mentioned in connexion with land at Aveley. This fine does not appear in full in the Essex Fines as printed by the Essex Archæological Society. The same Abbot was plaintiff later in a Kent fine of 21st Henry III relative to two saltpans in Sheppey. The Abbot's attorney was Brother Gregory of Lesnes, one of his Canons. The defendants were Robert Breyn and Christiana, his wife. The rent reserved was 10*d.* and one pound of pepper, and the consideration money 14 marks.(7)

1237

(1) 'Rotuli Chartarum,' Vol. I, p. 164.
(2) 'Rotuli Hundredorum,' Edward I.
(3) Bodleian Library, 'Kentish Rolls,' No. 4.
(4) Thorpe, 'Registrum Roffense,' p. 324.
(5) 'Feet of Fines,' Essex Archæological Society, p. 55.
(6) British Museum, 'Campbell Charters,' XIV. 23.
(7) Kent 'fines,' case 96, file 23, No. 357; also 'Lansdowne MSS.' Vol. 267.


groundplot of the abby of Lesnes in Earith; founded by Richard de Lucis. 1178.
canons Hall
cloister
church
W. Stukeley f. 9. 2. 1752.

THE ABBEY SITE IN 1752.


The inside of the northwall of the conventual church of Lesnes in Earith; founded 1178 by Richard de Lucis.
A. the founders grave.
A
W. Stukeley f. 6. oct. 1752.

THE FRATER IN 1752.

(Stukeleys Drgs. Brit. Mus.).

1238 In 1238 a Papal mandate was issued to the Abbot of Lesnes to induct Richard (de Wendover), Rector of Bromley and Bishop elect, into the temporalities of the See of Rochester.(1) There had been a dispute between the Cathedral Chapter and the Archbishop of Canterbury which had ended in an appeal to Rome, Richard being the nominee of the Monks.

Alan 6th Abbot 1248 The name of the sixth Abbot is preserved in another Essex fine.(2) It is dated 32nd Henry III (1248), and is between Robert de Ispania and Alan, Abbot of Lesnes (the latter represented by John of Wallingford, his Canon), and concerns 80 acres of land in Auvelers (Aveley). The demandant quit claimed to the Abbot for a consideration of four marks of silver.

But Abbot Alan has a better claim to be remembered, as it was he who took vigorous steps to remedy the damage done by the disastrous floods caused by the River Thames, between the years A.D. 1230–1240.(3) Indeed, so vigorous were the steps that he took in rebuilding the river wall which had been breached, that he was accused of not being sufficiently careful of the rights of adjacent occupiers.(4) But he promised to make ample amends ' if he had in the judgment of good men and of our common friends acted unreasonably.' His attorney stated that the Abbot expended over 3,000 marks in carrying out the good work, and he also added that the work was undertaken at the request of the whole countryside (communitas patriæ);(5). And, of necessity in this class of work, neighbouring landowners benefited; in fact, the Abbot became the agent of the lord Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, who held Plumstead, in reclaiming the rich lands in Plumstead marshes. Erith landowners were charged £6 per acre for property so recovered, while in an interesting law-suit respecting Plumstead, the charge is stated to be 4 marks and 4 pence per acre.(6)

1260 In 1260 the Abbot claimed the right to have a gallows on his land at Lesnes, but this was successfully contested by William de Wilton and Roesia, his wife, as lords of the Manor of Lesnes.(7)

1264 In 1264 John de Wadetone, by charter, dated St. Peter in Cathedra, granted to the Abbot and Convent of Lesnes the Manor of Beresh (by Cuxton), the gift being confirmed by his overlord, John de Cobham.(8) The Manor, however, passed shortly after into the hands of the Bishop of Rochester and his successors.

1265 The Abbot of Lesnes was twice summoned to Parliament; once in the 49th year of Henry III (1265), immediately after the Battle of Evesham, and again in the 23rd year of Edward I (1294–5). On this occasion the

(1) ' Calendar of Papal Letters,' 1198–1304, p. 169.
(2) ' Feet of Fines,' Essex Archæological Society, p. 174.
(3) Stow's ' Chronicles,' Edn. 1631, 20 Henry III.
(4) Cotton MSS., Claudias D.X., fol. 225d.
(5) ' Assize Roll,' 361, mem. 14d; also Roll 370, mem. 25.
(6) ' Assize Roll,' 1260, mem. 6.
(7) ' Assize Roll,' 1189, m. 14d.
(8) Thorpe, ' Registrum Roffense,' p. 319.

Abbots of St. Augustine, Faversham, Lesnes, and Bradsole, with the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, were the only monastic prelates summoned from the County of Kent.(1)

Richard 7th Abbot 1267

There is mention of Richard, Abbot of Lesnes, in a deed dated 1267, relating to the Manor of Beresh, before mentioned, and the rights of the Bishop of Rochester there.(2)

1279

Lambarde, quoting from the annals of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, records that in 1279 the Abbot of Lesnes enclosed part of his marsh in the parish of Plumstead and within twelve years after inned the rest also.(3) The dykes constructed at this and earlier periods to confine the waters of the Thames were a continual source of trouble to the marsh owners, and commissions were constantly being appointed by the Crown to survey the Thames wall and take steps for its repair.

Robert 8th Abbot

In the same year Robert, Abbot of Lesnes, was the defendant in a Kent fine,(4) in which the plaintiff is Nicholas, Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The fine is an agreement re Newington Church, and also re lands in Plumstead Marsh, where he undertook to do certain repairs to the river wall.(5)

1280

The right of free warren in all his demesne lands of Lesnes, Tong and Acolt, was granted to the Abbot of Lesnes, December 5, 1280.(6)

1283

In the register of John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, is a record of a visitation of the Abbey in 1283. Why the Archbishop was the visitor is not clear, as the See of Rochester was not vacant at the time, for Peckham writes to the then Bishop (Thomas Inglethorp) desiring him to see certain injunctions to the Abbot and Canons duly observed. He found, he says, that three brethren of the house had, with the consent of the Convent, obtained complete control of the goods and revenues of the community, and were in the habit of doling them out to the Abbot and other officers to be converted to their private use. This, he adds, must be at once discontinued under penalty of excommunication to be incurred *ipso facto*. 'Furthermore,' he continues, 'we find that the Canons do not eat meat in the common Frater, but retire for that purpose to certain small chambers and other privy places,' contrary to the observance of the rule, and he directs that they shall in future eat flesh three days in the week in Frater according to the observance in other houses of the Order. He further prohibits any Canon being abroad after nightfall except on the business of the Convent.(7)

(1) 'Parliamentary Writs,' Vol. I, p. 28.
(2) Thorpe, 'Registrum Roffense,' p. 321.
(3) Lambarde, 'A Perambulation of Kent,' edition 1596, p. 440.
(4) Kent fines, case 98, file 59, fine 87; also Lansdowne MSS, Vol. 268.
(5) Twisden's Decem Scriptores, fol. 1930.
(6) 'Calendar of Charter Rolls,' 1257–1300, p. 246.
(7) 'Registrum Epistolarum,' Johannes Peckham, Rolls Series, Vol. II, 625. See Appendix C.

Elyas 9th Abbot 1287

Elyas, ninth Abbot of Lesnes, appears in a Suffolk fine of the 15th of Edward I (1287)(1), an action being brought by the Abbot to recover rent from John de Creck. The Abbot was represented by Matthew of Newington, his Canon, the rent being chiefly due on a water-mill, 'Catchnath,' at Combes, probably near Stowmarket.

The tomb slab of this Abbot was found against the north-west pier of the central tower with the numeral ix below, indicating his position in the list of Abbots. (See post, p. 63.)

1291

In the ecclesiastical taxation of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291, temporalities of the Abbey of Lesnes to the annual value of £37 17*s.* 4½*d.* are mentioned. The chief item is 'In Lesnes, with the passage of the water and marsh lands, with rents from Dartford, Luddenham and Greenwich, £22 18*s.* 8*d.*,' apparently referring to a ferry across the river.

In 1291 a licence in mortmain was issued to Adam de Tropinal to alienate four acres of land in Lesnes to the Abbot and Convent.(2)

1298

In 1298 Archbishop Winchelsea, in a lengthy letter (dated February 3rd, sixth year of his consecration), recommends that certain matters in dispute between the Abbot and Convent of Lesnes and the Prior and Canons of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, be brought to an amicable settlement.(3) These disputes were evidently of long standing and are referred to in an earlier deed already quoted.

In the same year the Abbot of Lesnes laid claim to the wreck of the sea in Thames, within the Manor of Lesnes, but Joan Peache (widow of Richard de Dover), who held the Manor of Lesnes (of the heritage of John, Earl of Athol), in dower, successfully resisted his claim, alleging that all the predecessors of John, Earl of Athol, had held the like rights from time immemorial.(4)

1300

On February 16, 1300, King Edward I visited Lesnes Abbey on his way from London to Canterbury.(5) This is the only Royal visit of which there is any record.

1309

In 1309 a licence in mortmain was granted to the Abbot and Convent, at the instance of Queen Isabella, to acquire lands to the value of £20 a year(6) and advantage was taken of it in 1311, when one rood of meadow in Chislehurst and eighteen acres of pasture in Dartford were added to the Abbey lands.(7)

(1) Rye's 'Feet of Suffolk Fines,' p. 89, No. 28.
(2) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' 1281–1292, p. 435.
(3) Lambeth Palace Library, 'Register Winchelsea,' p. 181.
(4) Thorpe, 'Registrum Roffense,' p. 328.
(5) 'Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls,' Edward I.
(6) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' 1307–1313, p. 158.
(7) Ibid, p. 322.

1313 On April 25, 1313, a certain 'kidel,' or net, belonging to the Abbot of Lesnes, and found in the Thames opposite the Abbey, was brought before the Mayor of London, John Gisors, and others in the Guildhall and condemned because it was found that the said net was too close and insufficient for fishing, to the injury of the water and the common damage of the whole city; the Court adjudging that the said kidel be burnt in the Chepe.(1)

Eleven acres of land in Aveley with the advowson of the Church were acquired by a licence in mortmain in 1314.(2)

Thomas de Sandwich Abbot 1314 Thomas de Sandwich, Abbot of Lesnes, is mentioned in an agreement preserved in the register book of the Hospitallers of Clerkenwell. The agreement is between 'Brother Thomas de Sandwich, Abbot of Lesenes,' and William de Tothale, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England. Since the agreement concerns the tithe of corn in Rainham, the Abbot is styled 'Rector' of Rainham. The date is given as 8 Ed. II, A.D. 1314.(3)

This Abbot was a benefactor to the Library at Lesnes, two out of the eight surviving volumes bearing his name as donor. (See post, p. 32.)

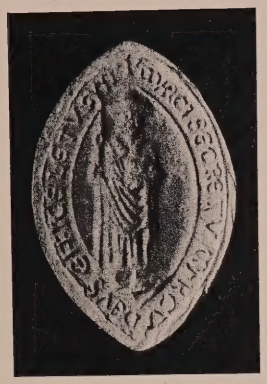
1318 In 1318 Roger de Chauncens, Rector of Ramsden Bellhouse, bound himself to the Abbot and Convent for 6 marks arrears of a yearly pension of 2 marks due to them.(4)

Adam de Halifeld Abbot 1321 A short chronicle of events relating to the Diocese of Rochester, by William de Dene, preserves a few facts relative to Lesnes. On passing through Stone, by Dartford, in 1321, Hamo de Hythe, Bishop of Rochester, blessed Roger de Dartford, Abbot of Lesnes, whose election he had confirmed at Greenwich.(5) From the same Bishop's register it appears that Roger (a Canon of Lesnes) succeeded to the Abbacy on the death of Adam de Halifeld.(6)

During the tumults which happened in London after the return of Isabel, Queen of Edward II, from abroad, in 1326, the citizens of London having declared in favour of the Queen, and executed summarily the Bishop of Exeter, the clamours of the citizens were so loud that they were overheard by the Bishop as he was sitting in his house on Lambeth Marsh, called La Place. On sending to Lambeth Palace he was informed of the cause, and found that Archbishop Reynolds had flown into Kent and had borrowed all his horses without asking leave or giving any intimation of what had happened. Thus left to shift for himself, he was obliged to go on foot as far as Lesness Abbey, where he slept that night.

Roger de Dartford Abbot 1327 Abbot Roger de Dartford died in 1327 and was succeeded by John of Hoddesdon, Canon of the house,(7) who held the Abbacy fourteen years, to the considerable detriment, as it appears, of the Convent.

(1) Sharpe, 'Calendar of Letter Books of City of London,' A. (Liber Horn, p. 226b).
(2) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls.'
(3) Cotton MSS. Nero E., VI. fol. 202.
(4) P.R.O., 'Ancient Deeds,' Vol. III, A. 4958.
(5) Wharton, 'Anglia Sacra,' Part I, p. 362.
(6) 'Register Hamo of Hythe,' folio 79.
(7) 'Register Hamo of Hythe,' folio 49.



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THE ABBEY SEALS.

John of Hoddesdon Abbot 1330

In 1330 his name occurs in a licence granted by Stephen Gravesend, Bishop of London, to the Abbot and Convent to appropriate the Church of Aveley, Essex, on their representation that their lands were subject to inundation by the sea and they were put to great expense in repairing the dykes and sea-walls, and furthermore that, their house lying not far from London and the main road, they were in consequence burdened with many guests.(1) The permission was granted subject to a yearly payment of 6 marks to the Chapter of St. Paul's and the Bishop reserved to himself and his successors the collation to the Vicarage.

1336

The first indication of the financial straits to which the administration of Abbot John eventually reduced the Convent is to be found in an interesting agreement entered into with the Prior and Convent of Rochester, July 8, 1336, by which the Abbot and Convent of Lesnes granted them an annual rent of 4 marks 6*s.* and 8*d.* from the returns of the Manor of Lesnes and Acholt, receiving in return a lump sum of 160 marks to be applied in the reparation of the Abbey Church, which was by sudden chance become ruinous, for the defence of their lands against the Thames, and for the relief of their heavy debts, occasioned by the acquisition of the patronage of the Church of Aveley, since appropriated to them.(2)

1340

This mortgage on the Manors of Lesnes and Acholt was, however, quite insufficient to do more than temporarily relieve the situation, and in 1340 a long letter of correction and warning was issued to the Abbot by the Bishop of Rochester.(3)

1341

The letter having apparently no effect, in the following year (1341) the Abbacy of John of Hoddesdon came to an abrupt conclusion when 'the Abbot of Lesnes was judged by his Bishop to be disobedient, rebellious and incorrigible, wasting the goods of the Convent to such an extent that his Canons had not vestments to put on, and was deprived of his office, and he, being so deprived, appealed to Rome and set out thither, and now lingers there from day to day in expectancy.'(4)

1344

A significant reference to the deposed Abbot occurs in the Patent Rolls. It is dated December 20, 1344, and relates to certain persons seeking to compel Robert, Abbot of Lesnes, to pay to John of Hoddesdon a certain sum of money, the said John being an outlaw, and strictly inhibits the payment of same.(5) A last mention is to be found in an undated deed in which John of Hoddesdon grants a messuage, etc., to found under certain conditions a chantry of two Chaplains at Lesnes.(6) As this is probably the latest reference in point of date, it appears likely that the recalcitrant Abbot at length saw the error of his ways, made peace with the powers that were, and endeavoured to secure his future well-being.

(1) Newcourt, Repertorium, Vol. II, p. 31, and 'State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537.
(2) Thorpe, 'Registrum Roffense,' p. 324, and 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' June 20, 1344.
(3) Register Hamo of Hythe, folio 186. (4) Wharton, 'Anglia Sacra,' Part I, p. 364.
(5) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' 1343–1345, p. 425.
(6) 'Catalogue of Ancient Deeds at P.R.O.,' Vol. II, A 1993.

The ruinous expenditure of this Abbot is amply evident in the financial troubles of his successors. The Close Rolls for the next twenty years are full of acknowledgment of their heavy debts. In 1354 a debt of £500 appears owing to Adam Franceys (Mayor of London, 1353) and Thomas Langton; and in 1357 and the following year total liabilities of £545 are admitted;(1) both sums it should be noted being considerably more than twice the annual revenue of the house.

1344
T., Abbot.
Robert de Clyve
Abbot

The immediate successor of John of Hoddesdon was probably Thomas, who appears as T., Abbot of Lesnes, in a deed dated 1344, July 14th.(2) He apparently died that year, as Robert de Clyve appears as Abbot on December 20th.(3) Robert was ordained Sub-deacon by Archbishop Peckham in 1283,(4) he appears as Canon and Proctor of the house in 1330,(5) and at the time of his death, which occurred in 1346, he must have reached an age considerably above the average for that period.

To this year belongs an agreement and a long suit in the Court of Arches between Abbot Robert and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's re the Church of Aveley.(6)

1345

On September 6, 1345, a licence was issued for alienation in mortmain by John de Whatton, clerk, to the Abbot and Convent of the Manor of Nethewode to find a secular Chaplain to celebrate divine service at the altar of St. Mary in their Church for the good estate of the said John and of Joan, late wife of William Faunt, and for the soul of the said William Faunt.(7) This is probably the land subsequently known as the Manor of Faunts. (See post, p. 35.)

In the same year the Abbot acknowledged a debt of £90 to John de Hatfield, citizen of London,(8) possibly a relation of Thomas de Hatfield, Bishop of Durham, a prelate subsequently cōnnected with the Abbey.

1346
Richard de
Gayton
Abbot

Richard de Gayton, Prior of Lesnes, was elected Abbot in 1346, John de Drithford appearing as Sub-Prior.(9) He survived the Black Death and held the Abbacy sixteen years.

1347

The same John de Hatfield, draper, of London, mentioned above, made an exchange of land in Lesnes with the Abbot and Convent in 1347.(10)

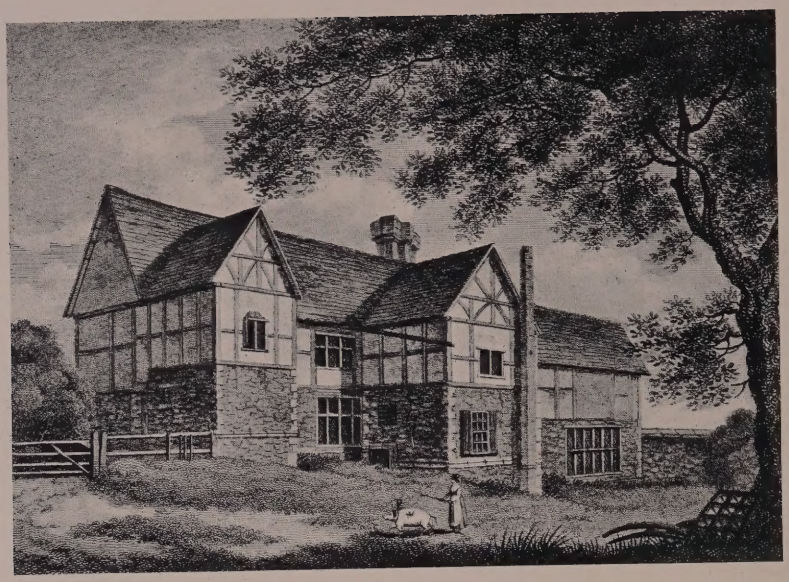
1349

In 1349, the second year of the Plague, the Bishop of Rochester visited Lesnes Abbey(11) and Malling Abbey, and found the fabrics in ruins; the words used are: 'Ita destructa per malam diutinam custodiam quod durante isto sæculo usque ad diem judicii creditur ea non posse reparari.'

1350

In 1350 Robert, son of William Hankere of Wylmyngton, by his charter gave free and peaceful seizin to the Abbot and Convent in six acres and one rood in the vill of Wylmyngton in the place called Petfield.(12)

(1) 'Calendar of Close Rolls,' Edward III.
(2) Thorpe, 'Registrum Roffense,' p. 329.
(3) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' 1343–1345, p. 425.
(4) 'Peckham Letters,' Rolls Series, Vol. III, p. 1031.
(5) 'State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537.
(6) St. Paul's MSS., A, box 32–40. No. 1520.
(7) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' 1343–1345, p. 547.
(8) 'Calendar of Close Rolls,' 1343–1346, p. 482.
(9) 'Register Hamo of Hythe,' folio 226b.
(10) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' 1345–1348, p. 432.
(11) Wharton, 'Anglia Sacra,' Part I, p. 377.
(12) Bodleian Library, 'Kent Charters,' No. 193.



THE ABBOTS LODGING FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

THE ABBOTS LODGING FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

In the same year Abbot Gayton obtained from the Crown a free grant in mortmain of 'a plot of ground 20 ft. by 14 ft. in the highway to Canterbury, in the parish of Newington (by Sittingbourne), to wit, at the cross where Robert le Bouser was killed, to build a chapel there in honour of St. Mary and Holy Cross.'(1) No record has been found of this murder, but the chapel later became known as 'Robert's Chapel,' probably in memory of the victim.(2) The cross mentioned was a celebrated one for pilgrims, for St. Thomas, on his last journey from London to Canterbury, rested awhile there and administered the rite of confirmation to a number of the villagers. Subsequently the cross became a regular stopping place for pilgrims on the Canterbury road and several miraculous cures are reported to have occurred there.(3)

1357 In 1357 the Convent granted to Robert Wendout (to whom they were in debt) a yearly pension of £20 for his life, to be paid in the Church of the New Temple at the Feast of the Annunciation.(4)

1362 William de Hethe Abbot In 1362 Richard de Gayton died, and William de Hethe was elected in his place. The deputation sent by the Convent to obtain the Bishop's consent on this occasion, consisted of John de Strithale (Prior), William de Hethe (Abbot elect), John Hansard (Precentor, afterwards Abbot), William de Hegham (Sacrist), Thomas de Newenton (Cellarer), and two other Canons.(5) The accounts of this Abbot for the years 1363 and 1364 are preserved in the Public Records Office.(6)

1368 The accounts of the Sacrist, Gilbert de Molesworth, dated four years later (1368 and 1369), are interesting as giving the various petty expenses connected with his office.(7) They include a number of disbursements for minor repairs to the Church—for 'estreboards' bought for the Bell-tower, 2*s.*; for long nails, 12*d.*; for the carpenter and wages, 12*d.*; for 'tyn' (probably solder) for the Church and Bell-tower, 6*s.* 8*d.*; for two 3 lb. lead nails, 7*s.* 6*d.*; for the plumber of Barking and his two boys and their wages, 25*s.*; for work to an arch in the Lady Chapel; 'further estreboards' for the Bell-tower, for planing ('schawyng'), 6*d.*; for tyn nails, 6*d.*; for spykying nails, 10*d.*; paid for labour and stone for work to the Bell-tower, 9*s.*; for lime, 8*d.*, etc., etc. It is interesting to note that there is no sign as yet of the rebuilding of the Lady Chapel, which must have begun about this time, unless the reference to work to an arch there is in that connexion. This account also gives particulars of the oblations laid upon the various altars in the Church and the offerings on Feast and Saints' days during the year—Christmas, Easter, Good Friday, St. Thomas the Martyr, St. Lawrence, the Assumption, Holy Cross, St. Blaise, and St. Katherine.

(1) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' 1350–1354, p. 7.
(2) P.R.O., 'Rentals and Surveys,' G.S., Roll, 357.
(3) 'Materials for the History of St. Thomas,' Rolls Series, Vol. II, p. 35.
(4) 'Calendar of Close Rolls,' 1354–1360, p. 335.
(5) 'Epis. Registers Dio. Rochester,' Vol. I, folio 309b.
(6) P.R.O., 'Ministers' Accounts,' G.S., B. 1108, No. 7. (7) Ibid, No. 8.

In the same year John Hiltoft, citizen and goldsmith of London, by will dated May 19th, left £100 to the Abbot and Convent in relief of the house and in pious uses for his soul.(1)

1371 In 1371 occur two notable Papal Letters concerning Lesnes Abbey and dealing with the Lady Chapel there. The first is a relaxation of penance to those who, at the four feasts of the Virgin and at the feast of the dedication annually, visit and give alms towards the decoration of her Chapel there, which had recently been begun by the Convent. The second adds the interesting information that in this Chapel 'our Lord has deigned of old to work many miracles.' From this it appears that an enlargement of the existing building was in progress rather than the erection of an entirely new one.(2) Of about this date, and possibly concerning this very work, is a letter from the Abbot and Convent to Edward the Black Prince, praying for the dispatch of certain letters and endorsed 'six beams from his forest of Lesnes' (*vi chevron de son bois de Lesnes*).(3)

1378 John Haunsard Abbot In 1378 occurs the first mention of Abbot John Haunsard, who probably succeeded William de Hethe. It occurs in a lease of a certain brew-house to Adam Rouse.(4)

On the death of Elizabeth, wife of William Bohun, Earl of Northampton, the patronage of the Abbey passed, with the Manor of Lesnes, into the hands of the Mortimers of Wigmore, in the person of Edmund, Earl of March (Elizabeth's grandson by her first husband)(5) and two long minorities in the family placed the patronage largely in the hands of the Crown.

In 1378, John Thornegold, Merchant, of London, left by will to his son John, Canon of Lesnes, two tenements near Broke Wharfe (by Queenhithe), for life, with remainder to the Abbot of Lesnes.(6)

1380 Amongst the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster is a lengthy instrument, by which the Abbot and Convent of Lesnes found a Chantry within the Conventual Church, for the souls of King Edward III, of Philippa, his Queen, for the good estate of Thomas de Hatfield, Bishop of Durham (in gratitude for donations received from him), and in soul alms for the Bishop's parents, John and Margery, William . . . and Miles, his brother, and Joan and Margery, his sisters. The deed has still an excellent impression of the Abbey Seal attached to it.(7) The connexion of Thomas de Hatfield with Lesnes Abbey is not apparent, and the Bishop's will, dated the following year, throws no light on the subject.

1382 Two more tenements in London, this time in the parish of St. Alphege, Cripplegate, were bequeathed to the Abbey in 1382 and 1386 by Robert at Launde, Knight, and Thomas Morden respectively.(8)

(1) Sharpe, 'Calendar of Wills,' Vol. II. (2) 'Calendar of Papal Letters,' 1362–1404, pp. 163, 165.
(3) P.R.O., 'Ancient Correspondence,' Vol. LIV, No. 50. (4) P.R.O., 'Ancient Deeds,' Vol. V, A7372.
(5) Hasted, 'History of Kent,' Vol. I, p. 192. She was buried in the Blackfriars, London. (See Weever, 'Ancient Funeral Monuments,' p. 388.)
(6) Sharpe, 'Calendar of Wills,' Vol. II.
(7) 'Westminster Abbey Muniments.'
(8) Sharpe, 'Calendar of Wills,' Vol. I.

1383 In 1383 occurs the first instance relating to Lesnes Abbey of a practice which became very prevalent in the last century of the Middle Ages. As the 15th century advances it becomes more and more common to find laymen residing within the precincts of the Convents, and more especially of those in and about London. These residences were often of considerable importance and extent, and there is even an instance of one (within the Whitefriars, London), whose owner—a lady—had licence to crenellate or fortify it, late in the 14th century. The present instance of this practice occurs in the will of William de Kelleshull, Fishmonger. He desires to be buried within the Churchyard of the Conventual Church, leaves sums of money to the Abbot and Canons, and dates his will 'at my mansion house within the Abbey of Lesnes, September 21, 1383.'(1)

1386 Henry Holcote or Heliere Abbot On September 12, 1386, a *congé d'élire* was issued by the Prior and Convent on the decease of John Haunsard, late Abbot, the patronage being in the King's hands, owing to the minority of the heir of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Henry Heliere, the Prior, was elected to the vacant Abbacy, and, as he is probably identical with Henry Holcote, who resigned in 1403, he must have held the office seventeen years.(2)

The accounts of this Abbot for the 10th and 11th Richard II are preserved in Eton College Library.(3)

1387 In 1387, complaint was made to the Justices at Westminster that the Abbot of Lesnes was holding a market by the gate of the Abbey every Sunday, without the King's licence.(4) The jury acquitted the Abbot.

1392 William Brumle, Canon of Lesnes, received the dignity of Papal Chaplain in 1392, and in 1402 obtained a dispensation to hold any benefice of office with or without a cure of souls, and wont to be held by a secular priest.(5)

1399 The Abbot of Lesnes, as deputy of the Bishop of Rochester, was authorized to levy the clerical tenth in the Archdeaconry of Rochester, 1399.(6)

1402 The Rolls of Parliament for the 4th of King Henry IV contain a complaint of the Canons against the Abbot of Lesnes and others, that they made a practice of selling annuities to divers persons and afterwards purchasing Protections in order to defraud the buyers.(7)

1403 William Sampson Abbot On the resignation of Henry Holcote, and owing to the minority of Edmund Mortimer, the patron, the Crown issued a *congé d'élire*, and William Sampson was elected Abbot.(8) He died two years later. A list of the possessions ('commodities') of the Abbey drawn up in the time of this

(1) Sharpe, 'Calendar of Wills,' Vol. II. (2) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' 1385–1389, pp. 208, 210.
(3) Hist. MSS. Com. Ninth Report, p. 352. (4) 'Chancery Miscellanea, R.O., County Pleas, Kent,' 41, 10.
(5) 'Calendar of Papal Registers,' 1396–1404, p. 499. (6) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' 1396–1399, p. 448.
(7) 'Rolls of Parliament,' Vol. III, p. 520a. (8) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' Henry IV.

Abbot (1403) remains at the Record Office. At this time Newington Church was worth £44 a year; Marden, £28; Elmdon, £21; Raynham, £16; Aveley, £14; and half of Godstone, £6 13*s.* 4*d.* The total annual revenue is given at £217 10*s.* 0*d.*[1]

1404 — The Church of Aveley appears to have given rise to further litigation with the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's at this time, and two agreements of 1402–3 and 1404–5 remain in the Chapter Library.[2]

1405 John Brokhole Abbot — John Brokhole succeeded to the Abbacy on the death of William Sampson, and his election was confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Arundel), 'in the Palace of Canterbury,' July 14, 1405.[3] He ruled the Abbey for eighteen years, dying in 1423.

1411 — In 1411 a Papal indult was issued to Roger Palmer, Canon of the Arrouaisian monastery of Lesnes, to return to Christchurch Priory (or Holy Trinity), London, whence he had removed, as he was unable to remain at Lesnes in tranquillity.[4]

1423 John Elmdon Abbot — There was considerable trouble over the election of the next Abbot, John Stebbing, Canon of the house, being first chosen, but he eventually retired in favour of John Elmdon, the Sub-Prior. Some of the proceedings in connexion with the settlement of this election were held in the Hall of the Abbot's house at Lesnes.[5]

1426 Thomas Plympton Abbot — John Elmdon died in 1426, and Thomas Plympton, Canon of the house, succeeded him, George Hoo appearing as Sub-Prior.[6]

1431 — The accounts of this Abbot, dated Michaelmas, 10th Henry VI (1431), are preserved at the Record Office (7), together with the accounts of the Abbey collector for the Manors of Lesnes, Faunts, Dartford and Ocholt.[8]

1444 — In 1444 occurs a rather remarkable connexion with the founder of the Abbey. Sir Walter Lucy, Knight, in his will, dated July 8th that year, desires his body to be buried at the Abbey of Lesnes, Kent, or at Worcester, in the chancel of the Friars Minor, at the election of his executors, and that, if he should be buried at Lesnes, he directs that 40 marks be delivered to the Abbot and Convent for his own and his wife's obit and his father's and mother's.[9] This Walter Lucy was a descendant of Geoffrey de Lucy, who held the Manor of Gaddesdon Lucies, Herts., in the time of King John.[10] That this branch was

(1) P.R.O., 'Rentals and Surveys,' G.S., Part IX, No. 37.
(2) St. Paul's MSS. A, Box, 32–40, No. 633 and 631.
(3) Lambeth Palace Library, 'Register Arundel,' folios 134a and 467b.
(4) 'Calendar of Papal Registers,' 1404–1415, p. 282.
(5) Epis. Reg. Dio. Rochester, Vol. III, folio 54b.
(6) Ibid, folio 75.
(7) P.R.O., 'Ministers' Accounts,' G.S., B 1108, No. 11.
(8) P.R.O., 'Ministers' Accounts,' G.S., B. 1108. Dartford is probably the Manor of 'Baldwins.'
(9) Somerset House, 'Prerogative Court of Canterbury,' Luffenham, 29.
(10) 'Victoria History of Herts.,' Vol. II, p. 211.

collaterally related to the house of Richard de Lucy is rendered probable by the similarity of their Coat of Arms, Richard bearing: Gules, three luces argent, and Geoffrey and his descendant Walter: Gules, crusilly argent and three luces argent. The desire of Walter Lucy to lie with his remote ancestor is evidently a piece of sentiment, which is rather unexpectedly found in an unsentimental age.

1448 The death of Abbot Plympton and the election of his successor are nowhere recorded, the Registers of Bishops Wells and Lowe being very fragmentary. The only reference to Lesnes in these Registers is the inclusion of a lengthy 'final accord' between the Abbot and Convent on one part and the Prior and Convent of Leeds on the other, relating to lands at Newington and dated 1448.(1)

Adam Say Abbot—1460 John Colman Abbot

On the back of a 'status' of the Abbey in 1472, preserved in the Record Office, is a singular memorandum to the following effect:— Mem. that Dom. Adam Say, Abbot of the Monastery of Lesnes, died the 14th day of the month of June, A.D. 1460, leaving the said Monastery in debts owing to his successor on the day of his death the sum of £199 3*s.* 4*d.* And then 'Dom. John Colman, Sub-Prior of the Monastery of Lesnes, was elected to the Abbacy and installed on the eve of the day of St. Catherine, Virgin and Martyr, A.D. 1460' (59 crossed out).(2)

1470 Dating from the rule of this Abbot are two documents of considerable interest relative to the internal economy of the house. The earlier is that containing the accounts of Godfrey Fisher, Sacrist, dated Michaelmas 9th and 10th of Edward IV.(3) It appears, as was commonly the case, that the sacristy of Lesnes had certain definite lands assigned to its upkeep, and from the rents arising from them the Sacrist paid, not only the immediate expenses of his office, but all expenditure on new buildings, repairs to the fabric of the Church, and the upkeep of all other buildings belonging to the Abbey. The account begins with a list of these rents, the lands being situate in Lesnes, Bostall, Bexley, Dartford and Rainham. Following this are the amounts received in oblations, which include:

Oblations to St. Katherine.
„ to St. Sythe (Osyth).
„ 'apud le Wyce,' in the chapel of the Blessed Mary.
„ on the day of the Purification of the Blessed Mary.
„ „ of St. Blaise.
„ „ of St. Lawrence.
„ at requiem masses.
„ to St. Anne, mother of St. Mary.
„ on Good Friday ('In die parassaphen').
„ and collections to St. Nicholas.
„ to Holy Cross.
„ to St. Anthony.

(1) Episcopal Register 'Diocese of Rochester,' Vol. III, folio 218.
(2) P.R.O., 'Rentals and Surveys,' G.S., Roll 357.
(3) P.R.O., 'Ministers' Accounts,' G.S., B. 1108, No. 12.

It appears evident from this list that there were in the Abbey Church either altars or images of St. Katherine, St. Osyth, St. Mary, St. Anne, St. Nicholas, Holy Cross and St. Anthony, and possibly also of St. Blaise and St. Lawrence. It will be noted that all the five Saints mentioned in the list of oblations of 1368–9 already quoted (*ante* p. 17) occur in the second list, and the four additional names may be taken to represent the altars and images set up in the interval of a century between the two.

The expenses on repairs which follow are quite insignificant, showing that no building operations were in progress at the time:

			s.	*d.*
Item paid	for	3 garnetts for the bellows of the Organ in the Lady Chapel		8
,,	,,	1 ft. Sheepskin bought of 'Bybg,' of Crayford ..		4
,,	,,	Two hundred 2*d.* nails and five hundred spryg nails..		6
,,	,,	Red Wine bought for the Celebration of Mass ..	5	6
,,	,,	Bread bought for the like purpose		17
,,	to	Lawrence Crabbe, Sub-sacrist	2	0
,,	,,	Isabella Stevyn for washing divers necessary articles in the Church	2	8
,,	for	Wax . . . bought	2	8
,,	,,	Tallow candles bought	3	11
,,	,,	. . . .	2	7
,,	,,	. . . needles and thread bought		1
,,	,,	3 pairs of Cruets, per pair 8*d.*	2	0
,,	,,	3 ells and 5 in. of Linen cloth for Rochets, per ell 8*d.*	2	4
,,	,,	3 ells of Linen cloth for the 'Revesshing Bord,' per ell 8*d.*		15
,,	,,	1 ell for the 'Payntyng Cloth' in the Chapel of the Blessed Mary		5
,,	,,	Frankincense		7
,,	,,	4 Torches		4
,,	,,	Hemming the Altar Cloths		1
,,	,,	divers things and expenses		10
,,	,,	2 Books bought		10
,,	,,	Parchment Skins bought for writing bills and indentures		2

The existence of an organ in the Lady Chapel is of interest, as in this case there were probably two instruments, the great organ being mentioned about 1502. The 'Payntyng Cloth' in the same Chapel was probably a painting on canvas forming an altar piece.

1472

A 'status' or statement of the possessions of the Abbey in the time of John Colman is also preserved at the Records Office.[1] It is dated the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, A.D. 1472, and is drawn up and written with more than the usual care. The roll is headed by the Royal Arms, the Crown then holding the patronage of the house, and in the margin is tricked the arms of the Abbey itself. As this is the only authority for the Conventual bearing it is of particular consequence. The roll has in numerous places been altered, corrected

[1] P.R.O., 'Rentals and Surveys,' G.S., Roll 357.

and brought up to date in the time of Henry Blakemore (1502–1513), whose name is inserted at the head of the document.

The items of the statement are as follows, giving a complete list of the possessions of the house at that period together with their respective values. The values omitted were erased in the time of Abbot Blakemore:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Manor of Lesnes	20	12	0
Church of Newington, Kent	22	0	0
Chapel of Robert Purser, the 'Worker of Miracles'		40	0
Church of Marden, Kent	13	6	8
Church of Raynham Essex	4	0	0
Church of Alvithele (Aveley), Essex		53	4
Church of Elmendon, Essex	13	6	8
Annual Pension from the house of the Holy Trinity, London	6	13	4
Annual Pension from the house of Leeds		3	4
From a messuage with cranes and wharf, called 'Merlow's Wharffe,' in the parish of St. Michael upon the Queenhythe, London	16	0	0
From a tenement in the parish of St. Mary, Somerset, by Brokewharfe, London	10	0	0
From a tenement by Cripplegate, London	10	1	0
From a tenement in the parish of St. Catherine Coleman by Blanchappleton, London	4	0	0
Marsh called the 'Flache' and 'Lodenh'mmerssh' (Parishes of Luddenham and Ore, Kent)		20	0
Manor of Ocolt by Bexile [1] (parish of Dartford and Wilmington)	5	0	0
Rents in Dartford, Crayford, Fawkham, Grenestrete, Eynsford and Tonbridge	3	6	8
Church of Wolkestede (Godstow, Surrey)	3	6	8
Manor of 'Fulhams' (Plumstead)	6	13	4
Manor or Marsh of Benflete, called 'Schaldrey Mersh,' Essex	10	0	0
Rents from the Manor of Faunts	10	0	0
Rents in Erith		—	
Rents within the town of Canterbury		—	
Rents from Thorney by Stowmarket, Suffolk	5	0	0
Rents in Clopton, Cambridgeshire		52	0
Rents in Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire		20	0
Rents in Steeplemorden, Cambridgeshire		—	
Rents from the farmer of the lands in Greenwich		6	8
Rents in Greenwich		—	
Total	£173	1	8

The outpayments were as follows:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Re the Church of Aveley to the Chapter of St. Paul's	6	13	4
,, the Church of Aveley to the Priory of Panfield, juxta mare (Essex)		40	0
,, the Church of Newington to the Cathedral Church of Rochester	4	6	8
,, the Church of Newington to the Abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury		—	
,, the Church of Elmdon to the Abbey of Missenden, Bucks		3	0

[1] Bexley.

	s.	d.
To the Lord Grannson	23	0
„ the Abbot of St. Albans	16	0
„ the Earl of March	6	3
„ the Church of St. Alphege, London	8	8
„ the Priory of St. Mary Overy, Southwark	13	4
„ the Church of St. Catherine, by the Tower	8	0
„ the Abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury	14	8
„ our Lord the Pope	7	2
„ the King for the Fair held at Lesnes on St. Laurence Day	2	5
Total ..	£18	0 6

It will be seen from this schedule that the Abbey held possessions in Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. The general value seems to be much about the same as it was at the final dissolution of the house, or, if anything, rather less.

1474 William Abbot

The name of Abbot John Colman appears for the last time on a detailed rental of the Manors of Lesnes and Faunts dated 14th year of Edward IV.(1) This is rather curious, as the name of his successor, William, appears in the Patent Rolls under date August 3, 1474. There can be no doubt as to the correctness of the latter name, as it appears a second time on December 6th of the same year.(2) Both entries are appointments of the Abbot of Lesnes on Commissions to view and report on the sea walls and dykes of the Thames, the first Commission covering the coast from West Greenwich (Deptford) to Gravesend, the second from Woolwich to Northfleet. The episcopal registers of Rochester are unfortunately missing between the years 1466 and 1492, and consequently the precise dates of the elections to the Abbacy for that period are not available.

1483 Thomas Benet Abbot

William's successor, Thomas Benet, appears on a similar Commission to those referred to above, in 1483.(3) Abbot Thomas, and William Bright, who followed him, both received minor orders in the same year (1462) from the hands of Bishop John Lowe.(4)

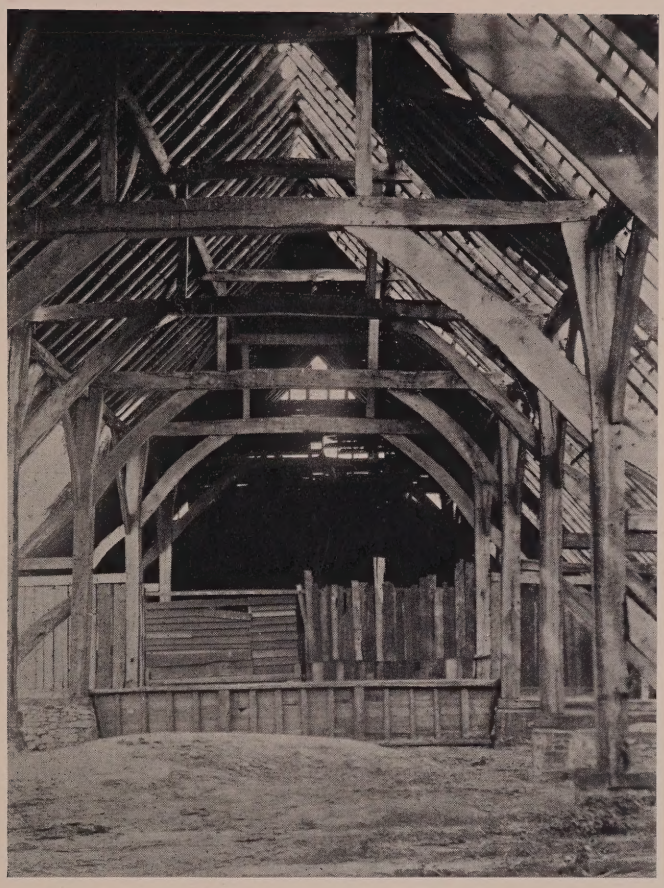
1496 William Bright Abbot

William Bright in all probability ruled the Abbey during the last ten years of the 15th century, but the first actual reference to him is in a citation for visitation issued to the Convent by Roger Church, for the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1496, the See of Rochester being vacant. The reply to the Convent is signed by William Bright, Abbot; John Cope, Sub-Prior; Richard Abell, Cellarer; William Lasse, Thomas Ferink, and John Makyn, Canons.(5)

1500

Four years later a licence in mortmain was granted to Abbot Bright to acquire certain rents in Erith, under a previous licence granted to the Convent in 1309, at the instance of Queen Isabella.(6)

(1) P.R.O., 'Rentals and Surveys,' G.S., Part IX, No. 38.
(2) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' Edward IV.
(3) 'Calendar of Patent Rolls,' Edward IV. (4) Register Lowe.
(5) Lambeth Palace Library, 'Register Morton,' Folio 161a.
(6) P.R.O., 'MS. Calendar of Patent Rolls,' Henry VII.



ABBEY BARN, INTERIOR.

ABBEY BARN, EXTERIOR.

1502 Robert Martyn Abbot

Bright's Abbacy came to an end in 1502, probably by resignation, as a Canon of the house of the same name occurs in 1513 as holding a distinguished position in the community. Robert Martyn was elected in his place, John Cope being still Sub-Prior.(1) The new Abbot did not survive his elevation more than two or three months, and in the autumn of the same year Henry Blakemore was elected to succeed him. There is a long account of this election in the Rochester registers. Henry after his election passed from the Chapter-house to the Church, where he prostrated himself before the altar, and, then rising, began to chant the *Te Deum Laudamus*, to the pealing of the organ and the ringing of the bells.(2) The new Abbot ruled for eleven years, resigning his post in 1513. Although practically nothing has survived relating to the history of the house under his rule, yet two documents remain of considerable importance, having a bearing, though indirectly, upon the subject. Both of these, curiously enough, are apparently the work of the same hand, though the dispersal of the Monastic papers at the Dissolution carried one to Oxford, while the other remained in London. The first of these is contained in a small bound volume before mentioned in the Library of Corpus Christi College.(3) It is headed on the first written page by the name Bayys, who may reasonably be identified with William Bayse, Canon and Sub-Prior of Lesnes, whose name appears at the head of some lengthy accounts preserved amongst the 'State Papers' of Henry VIII, at the Record Office, and dated December 12, 22nd Henry VII (1506).(4) The successor of Bayse as Sub-Prior, Robert Hale, is mentioned in 1513, so that Bayse probably died between these dates, and the fact that a short entry in another hand occurs at about the latter date is corroborative evidence of its suggested authorship. This book, or rather a few leaves of it which remain, contain what are apparently the occasional notes of the author, which range over a remarkably large field. The bulk of the matter, however, consists of the Abbey accounts, rents for the year 1506, a list of the Abbey tenants in Cripplegate, a measure of the marsh ground in the Lordship of Lesnes, taken in 1509, etc. The more personal portion of the book follows these and contains miscellaneous notes on many subjects of interest to the writer. He was apparently something of a herbalist, and duly notes down the healing qualities of sharpburrs, lilly, daffodyll, dragen (snapdragon ?), and fumytory. 'Celyndyn is good to drynk for the jawndy; yt must be gatherd on Lammesday, fastyng' is one of his prescriptions. Under the heading 'A medycyn for an hete of an agawe' (ague) occurs the following: 'Take herbs, Ive and dandelyn and herte-tunge and brusse them and sethe them in fayr wat(er) and with ye same wat(er) make you almond mylke.' Another for the same is: 'Drynke the wat(er) off Endyvs and drynk yt blode warme.' Other notes

(1) 'Register Fitzjames,' Folio 32b.
(2) 'Register Fitzjames,' Folio 33b, and P.R.O., 'MS. Calendar of Patent Rolls,' Henry VII.
(3) Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MSS. No. 265.
(4) P.R.O., 'State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537.

Henry Blakemore Abbot

relate more directly to the Abbey business. Thus: 'Mem.—To remember that priest that shall have any of our benefys that they be bound in an obligation that they shall not sue *none augmentacyon*.' Also: 'Mem.—That I have lent to hewe John Grandon, Kynsman, a boke of prynte callyd . . . vite xps.' Furthermore: Mem.—'That all our farmers be bound to bryng home our money at any tyme upon the payng for cost.' These private notes extend to perhaps half a dozen pages, but contain no historical information whatever except the short account of the foundation of the house already quoted. (See p. 2.)

1514 William Tysehurst Last Abbot

The particulars of the resignation of Abbot Henry Blakemore, and the consequent election of his successor, are detailed very fully in the Register of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester,(1) and as the election on this occasion took a rather unusual form, and as also the particulars present an intimate picture of Monastic procedure in such cases, a somewhat extended account of the circumstances will not perhaps be out of place. The account entered in Fisher's Register, from the pen of John Bere, Notary Public, is a report of the proceedings before the Bishop in his palace within the precinct at Rochester on April 4, 1513, when William Tysehurst, Abbot elect, applied for the Episcopal confirmation of his appointment. An inquiry was held into the circumstances of the election and the evidence of four witnesses was taken. The first two of these, Nicholas Metcalfe, Archdeacon of Rochester, and William Brown, were present at the election, at that time being unknown to the Abbot elect, and were called to give evidence as to its validity. The other two—Richard Chatham, Prior of Ledes, and Robert Raynham, Canon of Ledes, were called as having personal knowledge of the character and antecedents of the new Abbot. Both of them had, they said, known him from his youth up; he was a Priest, born of lawful wedlock, discreet and circumspect, and furthermore had been a Canon of Ledes Priory and Prior of Bilsington. Then follows a lengthy instrument embodying the conclusions arrived at and giving a minute account of the whole transaction. From this it appears that on the last day of February, 1513, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, intimated to the Convent in Chapter assembled, that Henry Blakemore, for certain good and legitimate reasons, and moved thereto by his conscience, had resigned the Abbatial dignity and office into his hands, and that by reason of this resignation, he now declared the Abbacy vacant and directed the Convent to proceed in the election of a successor. Then, on the same day, the brethren assembled in the Chapter-house unanimously decided to send Henry Blakemore, late Abbot, to the King, bearing their petition to him for his permission to elect a new Abbot. This petition is given in full, and is to the following effect:

'To the most illustrious in Christ our Prince and Lord, Lord Henry, by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland; your humble and devoted bedesman Brother Robert Hale, Sub-Prior of the Monastery of the Blessed Mary the Virgin and St. Thomas the Martyr, of Lesnes, and the Convent of the same place, of the Order of St. Augustine,

(1) Thorpe, 'Registrum Roffense,' p. 331.

STONE COFFIN IN PRESBYTERY.

RESPOND IN NORTH AISLE OF NAVE.

DIVISION WALL BETWEEN CHAPELS IN NORTH TRANSEPT.

diocese of Rochester, which is of your patronage by descent from the duchy of York . . . would make known to you, by the tenor of these presents, that, by the free resignation of Brother Henry Blakemore, late Abbot, the Conventual Church of this Monastery has become widowed of a Pastor. Making known then the vacancy to your Majesty by the tenor of these presents we humbly make supplication that your Highness will grant your Royal licence for the election of an Abbot for ourselves and a future Pastor for the said Monastery. As to which licence, we have appointed our dear Brother and fellow Canon, Henry Blakemore, to be our Proctor and messenger. . . . In testimony to which matters we have affixed to these presents our common seal. Given in our Chapter-house the last day of the month of February, A.D. 1512 (1513).'

Having dispatched this petition to the King, the Convent again assembled in the Chapter-house on March 17th and elected Thomas Bible, the Prior, to be their President at the forthcoming election. It was then decided to hold the actual election on the 22nd of the same month, the Royal licence having in the meantime arrived. 'On the which 22nd day of the month aforesaid, the Mass of the Holy Spirit was celebrated at the high altar in the Church of the said Monastery. The which being-finished and the bell rung for the Chapter, the aforesaid President first, with his brethren after him, entered the Chapter-house.' Here the President declared the reason of their coming together, the brethren seated themselves in order, the laity were excluded, and, all love, favour and rancour being laid aside, they proceeded to the election. All devoutly kneeling, and invoking the grace of God, the Canons sang the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*. The full list of the Convent present on this occasion is preserved. They were: Thomas Bible (Prior), Henry Blakemore (ex-Abbot), Robert Hale (Sub-Prior), John Sittingbourne ('Cityngbourne'), John Johns, William Bright ('Brigthe,' ex-Abbot?), William Cope, Richard Lee and John King. Two Canons were absent, namely, John Makyn and Thomas Lambe, making, when the new Abbot was elected, twelve in all. After due warning had been given by the Prior to any excommunicated or unauthorized person to withdraw from the Chapter, the Royal *congê d'élire* was read. It was dated 'at Charrynge, March 15th, in the 4th year of our reign.' After these preliminaries, it was decided that instead of proceeding to elect an Abbot in the usual way, the Convent should appoint three representatives from amongst their number and should engage to abide by their choice of an Abbot, the same to be a learned religious and circumspect person either from their own Monastery, or from any other Monastery of the same Order of St. Augustine. And if the three were not able to agree upon a suitable man, the opinion of two of them was to prevail and should be accepted by the Convent. The three representatives chosen were Henry Blakemore, John Sittingbourne and William Bright, and these were left alone to decide the matter in the Chapter-house, the Convent returning to hear their decision two hours after noon. Henry Blakemore, speaking in the name of the three, announced that they had chosen William Tysehurst, Prior of Bilsington, a Canon Regular of the Order of St. Augustine, to be Abbot. The Convent forthwith appointed Robert Hale and John Johns to be their Proctors, to obtain the consent of the person elected, also of the King and of the Bishop, and gave permission to Thomas Hedd to make public the result of the election.

Then, leaving the Chapter-house, the Canons passed to the choir of the Conventual Church, to the ringing of the bells, and singing the *Te Deum Laudamus*, while Thomas Hedd publicly proclaimed, in the vulgar tongue, the election of William Tysehurst to the clergy and people assembled there. The acceptance of the Abbot elect of his new dignity was not long delayed, and the Convent at once dispatched John Johns, their Proctor, to the King with a notification of the election. The assent of the Bishop was obtained shortly after, and, kneeling before him, William Tysehurst made his profession of Canonical obedience in the form following:

> 'In the name of God, Amen. I, Brother William Tysehurst, Canon, canonically elected and confirmed Abbot of the Monastery of the Blessed Mary the Virgin and St. Thomas the Martyr, of Lesnes, in the diocese of Rochester, of the Order of St. Augustine, promise subjection, reverence and obedience to you Reverend Father and Lord, Lord John, Bishop of Rochester, and your successors, Bishops of Rochester, canonically inducted, and to your officers and ministers in all things lawful and honest . . . and to this have set my cross and subscribed my name, humbly beseeching your blessing.'

After this profession the Bishop bestowed his blessing upon the new Abbot, and handed to him the pastoral staff, and the Abbot returned to Lesnes, there to be duly installed in his seat in the choir and his place in the Chapter-house by his predecessor and John Johns. Afterwards, on March 24th, Richard Jompe, Curate of Erith, certified that he had received letters mandatory from the Bishop to induct the new Abbot into the temporalities of the Abbacy. The election was finally completed by the Royal assent, which is dated March 27th, 4th Henry VIII (1513).[1] It is a rather remarkable fact that this is the only recorded instance in the history of the Abbey of a member of another house being elected to the Abbacy.

The years immediately succeeding this event were marked by considerable building activity at Lesnes. A portion of a Sacrist's account of this date records considerable expenditure upon repairs and also on new works. £56 was spent upon new building to the kitchen, larder, slaughter-house, the entry and the Frater; £16 5*s.* 4*d.* for a new barn—possibly the same one that was destroyed a few years ago. A tile kyln at 'Bawdwyne' (Baldwin's, by Dartford), a new chimney in the Abbot's camera, new building to the Cloister, a new aisle in the Church, a lime kyln, a fence around the Monastery, a stair in the Abbot's camera, and several other items are also mentioned.[2] Amongst the 'State Papers,' known as 'the Cardinal's bundle,' are

[1] 'State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. I, No. 3834. The petition for the same is in the name of John Johns (Proctor), dated March 23rd.

[2] P.R.O., 'State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537. The original runs as follows:—'Nova Edificatione ac reparationibus. . . . In nova edificatione Coquine, domus lardarie, le slauterhouse, le enty, et le Fraytor, monasterii predicti, lvil. vijs. xd. In nova edificatione altere entry inter aulam et claustrum, xl. In nova edificatione le docking wharfe apud London, xl. In nova edificatione unius orrii in monasterio predicto, xvjl. vs. iiijd. Alteri orrii apud Elmedon, ciijs. iiijd. Tyle Kyln apud Bawdyne, lxvjs. viijd. Unus novus ciminus in camera dicti abbatis, xxvjs. iiijd. Unus novus ciminus in domo juxta le day house xvs. iijd. In nova edificatione claustri, vjl. viijd. In nova edificatione domus pandoxatoris, xiijl. ijs. iijd In nova edificatione unius novae Insulae in Ecclesia monasterii predicti, viijl. xiiis. iiijd. In nova facta le lyme kylne, xxs. In nova edificatione paliae circum monasterium predictum, vil. xiiijs. viijd. In nova edificatione unius

preserved some thirteen leases of the Abbey lands, nearly all dating from the Abbacy of William Tysehurst(1), and amongst the property leased was a building adjoining the gatehouse and various barns and yards within the precinct; Fulham's Place, Plumstead, 'Willow's gore' in Lesnes, and other land in Raynham and Elmdon. Three bequests also belong to this period. In 1513, Thomas Lamendby, alias Sparrowe, of Bexley, bequeathed to the Abbey of Lesnes, a tenement newly built called the New Tilehouse in the parish of Bexley;(2) in 1519, John Clarke desires to be buried in the Church of Leson Abbey before 'the Salutation Chapel';(3) and in the following year (1520) Thomas Draper leaves to the Abbey of Lesnes ten marks 'to thentent they shall by a jeyell to the hye aulter there.'(4) In 1519 also an annual pension or corrody was granted to certain persons, including John Bishop, of Rochester, during the lifetime of Henry Blakemore, late Abbot, of £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, and a second one was granted, in 1524, to Richard Clement of £10 annually, and a residence within the close called the upper Gatehouse, for the sum of £80 down.(5)

1517 The external history of the Abbey for the period immediately preceding its dissolution is almost a blank. In 1517, Abbot Tysehurst served on a commission of sewers for Kent, and in 1522, when a loan was raised for the war in France, the Abbey was assessed at £20.(6)

The position of the lesser Augustinian houses had, towards the close of the Middle Ages, become more and more precarious. One or two of them had actually become extinct through the death of the last Canon, and one, the Abbey of Creke, in Norfolk, had been suppressed, and its revenues granted to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, for the endowment of Christ's College, Cambridge. This was, however, by no means the earliest instance of the diversion of Monastic property to academic uses. As early as a century before William of Wykeham and Henry VI had endowed their collegiate foundations with the lands of the alien Priories, and in 1497 John Alcock, Bishop of Ely, obtained leave from Pope Alexander VI to suppress the Benedictine Nunnery of St. Radegund, Cambridge, and transform it into a College. These were the lines upon which Cardinal Wolsey acted when in 1524 he obtained from Clement VII permission to convert the Augustinian Priory of St. Frideswide into a College. It was evidently his intention to emulate the twin educational establishments of Wykeham at Winchester and New College, and Henry VI at Eton and King's, by his own foundations at Ipswich and Cardinal College, Oxford; but as the scheme progressed, the endowments of St. Frideswide were found to be insufficient for the ambitious designs which he entertained, and consequently, late in 1524, he sought and obtained a further Papal

novi camini in uno tenemento apud Brokynwharfe, London, xxijs. vid. In nova edificatione unus gradus in camera dicti Abbatis, xvjs.

'Summa cxll. xiiijs. iijd.'

(1) Ibid. (2) 'St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society,' Vol. III, p. 267. (3) Ibid.
(4) 'Testamenta Cantiana.' (5) 'State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 99.
(6) 'State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. II, Nos. 2870 and 4654, and Vol. III, 2483.

licence to suppress Monasteries containing not more than seven inmates, to a total annual value of three thousand ducats, the proceeds to be devoted to the further endowment of his twin Colleges.(1) A large number of Monastic establishments were thus brought within his power, but it is impossible to say what were the factors which determined upon which of these the lot should fall. It may, however, be safely assumed that no question of moral obliquity entered into the fate of the twenty-four houses which were eventually doomed. Wolsey, it is true, ordered a visitation of the houses which he intended to suppress, but apparently only those were visited which were already marked for destruction. From the terms of the Papal bull it is reasonable to conclude that the number of the inmates at Lesnes had decreased during the rule of the last Abbot from twelve to under seven, which, considering the annual revenue of the house, is an unusually small number. Of the nineteen houses first suppressed by Wolsey, ten were Augustinian. Subsequently, five more were added to the list, of which three were of that Order, making more than half the total number. The following is a list of houses dissolved at this time:

BENEDICTINE (6).

Canwell Priory (Staffs.)
Felixstowe Priory (Suffolk)
Romburg Priory (Suffolk)
Sandwell Priory (Staffs.)
Snape Priory (Suffolk)
Tykford Priory (Bucks.)

BENEDICTINE NUNS (3).

Littlemore Priory (Oxon.)
St. Mary de Pré Priory (Herts.)
Wikes Priory (Essex)

CLUNIAC (2).

Daventry Priory (Northants.)
Stanesgate Priory (Essex)

PREMONSTRATENSIAN (1).

Bayham Abbey (Sussex)

AUGUSTINIAN (13).

Blackmore Priory (Essex)
Broomhill Priory (Norfolk)
Dodnash Priory (Suffolk)
Ipswich St. Peter Priory (Suffolk)
Lesnes Abbey (Kent)
Mountjoy Priory (Norfolk)
Oxford St. Frideswide Priory (Oxon.)
Poughley Priory (Berks.)
Pynham Priory (Sussex)
Ravenston Priory (Bucks.)
Thoby Priory (Essex)
Tiptree Priory (Essex)
Tonbridge Priory (Kent)

The first bull for the suppression of these houses is dated September 11, 1524, and on October 1st of the same year Wolsey obtained the Royal assent. The majority of the houses involved were suppressed early in the following year, the Abbey of Lesnes being surrendered by William Tysehurst on February 13, 1525, into the hands of Dr. William Burbank, Wolsey's agent(2) and Archdeacon of Carlisle. The register of Bishop John Fisher gives a slightly different date for the final act, which he describes in the following terms:

1525 'Memorandum.—That, on the 1st day of April, A.D. 1525, the Most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Lord Thomas, by the Divine mercy, Priest of the Most Holy Roman Church by the title of St. Cecilia, Cardinal of York, Primate of England

(1) Rymer's 'Foedera,' Vol. XIV, p. 23. (2) 'State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 1137 (8).

NORTH-WEST BUTTRESS OF NAVE.

NORTH-WEST DOORWAY OF NAVE.

and Chancellor, Legate a latere, with the express consent and free will of Dom William Tysehurst, formerly Abbot, the Reverend Father John, Bishop of Rochester, consenting thereto, suppressed and dissolved the monastery of Lesnes, in the diocese of Rochester, of the Order of St. Augustine.'(1)

The Canons of the Abbey of Lesnes were undoubtedly distributed amongst other houses of the Augustinian Order, but the Abbot apparently took some other appointment, as he subsequently appears at the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury as being still of the Diocese of Rochester.

The annual value of Lesnes Abbey at the Dissolution is given in a return amongst the 'State Papers'(2) as—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Spiritualities	75	0	0
Temporalities	111	5	8
Total	£186	5	8

From this it will be seen that, had it escaped the hand of Wolsey, it must have fallen amongst the lesser Monasteries ten years later, the revenues being just under the limit of £200 a year.

The fall of Lesnes Abbey and its fellows, says Fuller, 'made all the forest of religious foundations in England to shake, justly fearing that the King would fell the oaks when the Cardinal had begun to cut the underwood.'

Before turning to the subsequent history of the site a few matters remain to be dealt with, which, though connected with the Monastic house, lie outside its historical aspect.

THE ARMS

The Arms of the Abbey are preserved on the 'Status' of 1472, previously quoted. They may be blazoned: Gules, between two luces a crozier in pale or; on the original, above the coat, is a small medallion: Gules, a luce (argent). These arms are reproduced on the cover of this volume.

THE SEALS(3)

Five impressions of seals belonging to the Abbey of Lesnes are known to exist, and of these, three are duplicates. The first common seal of the Abbey was a vesica ($2\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches). On the obverse is a full length figure of St. Thomas of Canterbury with mitre and pall, the left hand holding a crosier, the right raised in

(1) Thorpe, 'Registrum Roffense,' p. 342. (2) 'State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3538 (iii.).
(3) Another seal, assigned to Lesnes, has been reproduced in various publications, but it probably belonged to Wengham College, Kent.

benediction. On either side the figure is a lucy or pike and on the sinister side also a mullet: '+ SIGILL' ECL'IES S THOME MARTIRIS DE LIESNES.' The reverse is a small round counter seal (1⅜ inches diameter) having a half-length figure of St. Thomas with the legend: '+ SIGILL'–SANCTI–TOME–MARTIRIS.' This seal was still in use in 1380 and an impression is attached to a deed amongst the Westminster Abbey muniments. An impression of the seal of Mark, Abbot of Lesnes, is preserved at Canterbury Cathedral. It is a vesica (1½ inches by 1 inch) and shows an Abbot standing on a platform, on the head a flat cap, in the right hand a pastoral staff, and in the left a book. Legend: '+ MARCI–SECRETV: MARCV DEVS EFFICE LETUM.' What is probably the reverse of another Abbatial seal is also at Canterbury. It is a pointed oval, apparently of the same size as the preceding. From the base rises a hand holding an open book above which is + XPC–VINCIT. The legend is SECRETUM ABATIS DE LIESNES. (See Plate IV.)

THE LIBRARY

The existence of a Library at Lesnes, practically from the foundation of the house, is rendered probable from the early date of the specimens of its contents which have survived—most of them dating from the late 12th or early 13th centuries. Of the eight volumes which remain, three are now in the library of St. John's College, Oxford, four in that of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and one in that of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The former were the gift to that institution of Richard Tilesbye, S.T.D., Archdeacon of Rochester, in 1619, who presented with them a 'Gesta Romanorum,' which may have come from the same source. All of the books treat of theological subjects, and are of little general interest, but at the head of an early page of each is a short note in Latin to the following effect:

'This is the book of the Church of the Blessed Thomas the Martyr, of Lesnes, the which, whosoever shall steal or anywise falsify, unless he make full satisfaction to the same Church, let him be anathema maranatha.'

In the case of MS. No. 19 the donor, Brother Thomas de Sandwich, is mentioned. No. 19 also contains homilies of St. Augustine of Hippo upon the Psalms, beginning at Psalm 80 and ending with 118. Bound in with the front cover is a page of the works of St. Benedict. No. 31 is a large quarto, very finely written, with large initial letters and scroll work executed in red, blue, green and brown. It contains the 'Pantheologi' of Brother Peter, Canon of the Holy Trinity, London, and has a prologue dedicating the work to the Most Reverend and Delectable Lord and Father in Christ, Godfrey de Lucy, Bishop of Winchester. No. 134 is a small quarto and contains thirty anonymous sermons on various subjects—the Martyrs, the Passion, Humility, the Nativity, Annunciation, Assumption, and Purification of the Virgin, the Seven

PIER OF EASTERN ARCADE OF NORTH TRANSEPT.

EAST WALL AND ALTAR BASE IN NORTH TRANSEPTAL CHAPEL.

Deadly Sins, The Nativity of Our Lord, etc. Prefixed to these is a sermon of St. Augustine on the Annunciation.

The Gonville and Caius MSS. are of rather more varied character. All of them have the same notes as before, No. 135 being also a gift of Thomas de Sandwich. No. 121 is 10 inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches and consists of 104 folios, being of late 12th century date. It contains a work of Hugo de Folieto: 'Concerning the Cloister of the Soul.' No. 135 is rather smaller ($8\frac{7}{8}$ inches by 6 inches) and contains a variety of subjects—the Allegorical History of Master Peter (Comestor), Sermon of Pope Leo, Proverbs from Latin Authors, and various Sermons, among them the Order of Peter 'Manducator' for the whole year. No. 151 (9 inches by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches) is still more varied in its contents, including, besides Sermons, excerpts from various Authors, a description of Jerusalem, an Exposition of the Mass, a tract on the Creation, notes on Arithmetic, the Calendar, the Offices, the Council of Calcedon, and a list of Roman Emperors, a work of Bartholomew (Iscanus), Bishop of Exeter, a tract on Canon Law and a gloss on the Decretals. No. 426 ($7\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches) consists of forty-five folios of 13th century date with red initial letters. It contains a number of Sermons on various subjects. These last four books were given to Gonville and Caius College by William Moore, who died in 1659.(1)

The Corpus Christi volume is a commentary by Richard Hampole on the Psalms, the Psalms being in Latin, the commentary in English. It is a folio parchment book, 15th century (fos. 115), very well written, with beautiful English ornament. A note in it says: Iste Liber Constat Dompno Johanni Colman, Abbatis (*sic*) Monasterii de Lesnes.(2)

A manuscript of far greater interest in connexion with the Abbey is a Missal, which was once the property of the house, and till lately in the possession of Mr. H. Yates Thompson.(3) On a fly-leaf is a list of some of the relics belonging to the Abbey. They include—'Part of the chasuble of the Blessed Thomas the Martyr and of his dalmatic and of his handkerchief, and part of the sere cloth in which his body was wrapped before his translation. A part of the handkerchief of the Blessed Virgin Mary.'(4) In the margin of the 'Canon of the Mass' are inserted the names of benefactors of the house to be commemorated. They include Philippa Comitesse Merch, Galfridus de Luce, Katerina uxor eius.

The first of these was the daughter and heiress of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and wife of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. The second, Geoffrey de Lucy, was probably the eldest son of the founder, Richard de Lucy.

(1) A fuller account of these books will be found in the Catalogue of MSS. in Gonville and Caius Library—M. R. James (1907).

(2) Dr. M. R. James, Catalogue of MSS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Part V, p. 237.

(3) See Catalogue of Fifty MSS. from the collection of H. Y. Thompson, by Dr. M. R. James, 1878.

(4) 'De casula beati Thome Martiris, et de dalmatica eius et de su(dario eius) . . . et de serico in quo corpus eius involuebatur ante translacionem. De s(udario beate) Marie virginis.'

THE OFFICERS OF THE ABBEY

Contrary to the common custom amongst houses of the Augustinian Order, the Convent of Lesnes was from its foundation an Abbey and not a Priory. The difference is, of course, one of name only, and may possibly be traced to its early connexion with

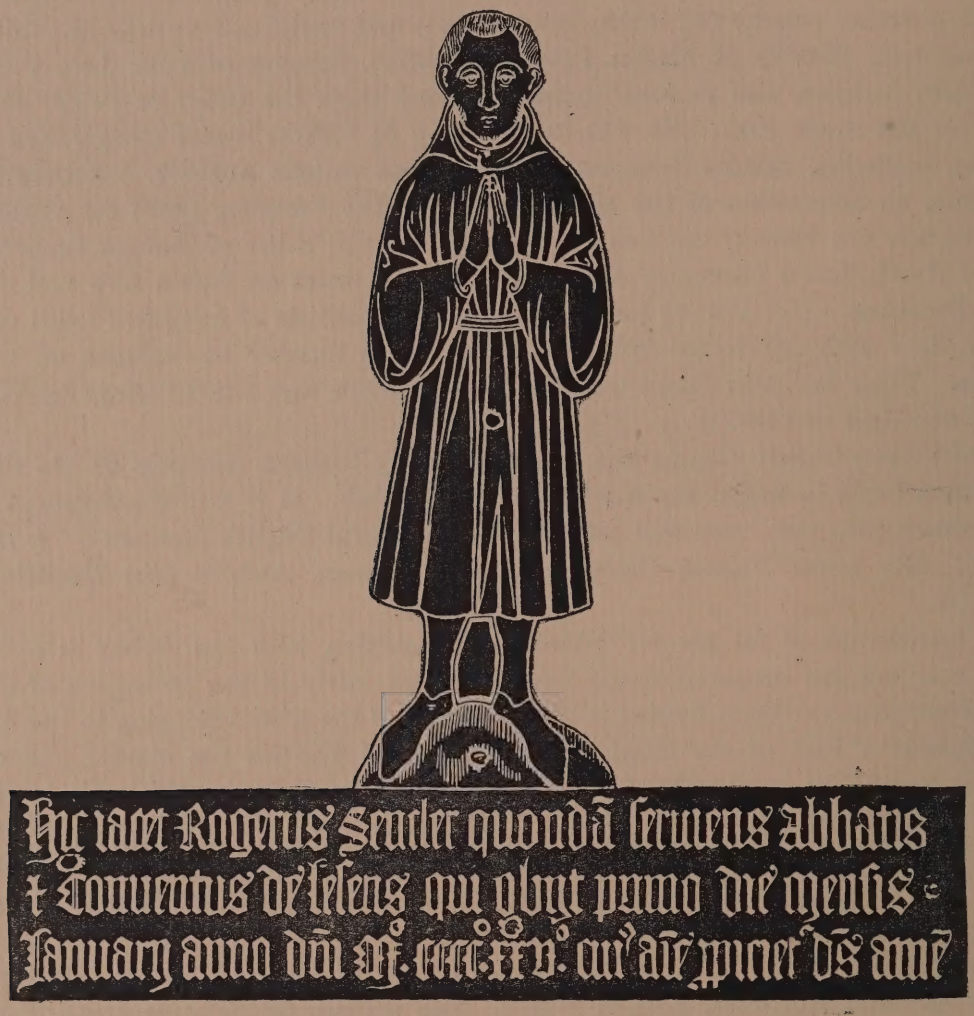

Hic iacet Rogerus Sencler quondã seruiens Abbatis
& Conuentus de Lesnes qui obiit primo die mensis
Januarij anno dñi M. CCCC. XX. cui' aïe ppiet's dñs amẽ

Fig. 2.—Brass of Roger Sencler, 1425/6, Erith Church

the Order of Arrouaise, most of the houses affiliated thereto being thus designated. In addition to the Abbot, the Officers at Lesnes included a Prior, Sub-Prior, Sacrist, Cellarer, Hospitaller,(1) and Precentor, a fairly lengthy list considering that the Convent numbered six inmates at most at its dissolution.

(1) 'Custos aule ospitum,' P.R.O., Miscellaneous Books, 180. T.R.

The office of Seneschal appears to have been held for some time in the late 15th and early 16th century by the family of Draper.

In the Parish Church of Erith in the floor of the south choir aisle, and in perfect preservation, there is still to be seen a brass to Roger Sencler, described as a Sergeant of the Abbey. The figure is of moderate size and no great distinction. The costume is the ordinary civilian dress of the period (1425) and the inscription runs: 'Hic jacet Rogerus Sencler quondam serviens Abbatis et Conventus de Lesens qui obiit primo die mensis Januarii anno domini m°cccc°xxv° cujus animae propicietur deus amen.' (Here lies Roger Sencler, formerly Sergeant to the Abbot and Convent of Lesens, who died the first day of the month of January, A.D. 1425[-6]; on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.) The Will of Roger Sencler was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.(1) It contains the following bequests: 'To the fabric of the Church of Erith, for my sepulture, 20*s.*; to the High Altar there, 3*s.* 4*d.*; to my Lord Abbot of Lesnes, 6*s.* 8*d.*; to the other Canons there, to pray for my soul, 3*s.* 4*d.*; to the fabric of the Abbey of Lesnes, 40*s.* sterling.'

THE MANORS OF THE ABBEY

(1) LESNES. The Parish of Erith during the later Middle Ages contained at least three Manors, all of which went by this name. Two of them were in lay hands, but the third was held by the Abbey. It apparently consisted of the land surrounding the Abbey, together with the adjoining marshes and, in all likelihood, formed part of the original endowment of the founder. A number of the Court Rolls belonging to this Manor have been preserved, and for the purposes of reference a list is here given:

9th and 10th Edward IV and 49th Henry VI, Public Record Office, Court Rolls, 181, No. 43.
1st Edward V, Public Record Office, S.P., Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No 3537.
6th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 14th, 16th, 17th and 20th Henry VII, Public Record Office, S.P., Henry VIII, Vol IV, 3537.

(2) FAUNTS. The Manor or Lordship of Faunts adjoined that of Lesnes, just mentioned, upon the east. The Manor House stood a few hundred yards up the first lane turning southwards from the Abbey Wood and Erith Road east of the Abbey Farm. The hamlet now goes by the name of 'Picardy.' At what time this Manor was acquired by the Abbey is uncertain, but an entry in the Patent Rolls on September 6, 1345, may have some connexion with it. It is a licence for alienation in mortmain by John de Whatton, Clerk, to the Abbot and Convent of Lesnes, of the Manor of Nethewode, on certain conditions, amongst them the founding of a Chantry for the good estate of the said John and for the soul of William Faunt. The occurrence of this latter name, in direct connexion with the Manor of Nethewode, points to the

(1) P.C.C., Luffenham, 5.

conclusion that Faunts and Nethewode were identical, especially as there is no subsequent mention of the second name in the Abbey records. Court Rolls of the Manor of Faunts still surviving are the following:

9th and 10th Edward IV and 49th Henry VI, Public Record Office, Court Rolls, 181, No. 43.
1st Edward V, Public Record Office, S.P., Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537.
7th Edward IV and 7th, 9th to 12th Henry VIII, Public Record Office, S.P., Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537.

Several of these are entered on the same membranes as the Courts and Estreats of the Manor of Lesnes.

(3) FULHAM'S. Fulham's or Fulham's Place is on several occasions referred to as a Manor. It was situated in Plumstead parish and was acquired by the Abbey in 1432. In the Patent Rolls for that date is a licence in mortmain to Thomas, Abbot of Lesnes, and the Convent, to acquire a messuage with 100 acres of land in Plumstead called Fulham's Place in exchange for certain lands in Chislehurst. On August 26, 8th Henry VIII (1516), it was leased by the Convent to William Abell, grazier, together with certain other fields and marsh lands specified ('State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537).

(4) OCHOLT. The precise position of the Manor of Ocholt is uncertain. It is mentioned in one place with the addition 'by Bexley,' but the mention of it in the charter to Strood Hospital (already quoted), with the Royal charter confirming the gifts to that Institution, point to its being situated in the parishes of Dartford and Wilmington. It has in any case no connexion with the Manor of Ocholt in Knockholt parish, which always remained in lay hands. It is mentioned in the Confirmation Charter of King Richard I as the gift to the Abbey of the Earl of St. Paul.

(5) BALDWINS. Baldwins is occasionally referred to as a Manor, and its position is fixed by the fortunate survival of the name to the present day. It lies in the parish of Dartford, and its position midway between Bexley, Dartford and Wilmington, exactly that ascribed to Ocholt, points to some connexion between the two. They may even be the same, as the two names never occur together. The Tile kyln of the Abbey in the early 16th century was situate here.

(6) THORNEY LESNES. The Manor of Thorney Lesnes formed part of the parish of Stowmarket, Suffolk. A considerable hamlet still exists called Thorney, and the Manor was later known as Thorney Lesons. There is record of a grant to the Abbey, by Anselm de Lucy, of 40*s*. rent from Thorney, probably early in the 13th century. Subsequent grants must, however, have been made, as in 1472 it was worth £5 a year. A number of Court Rolls of this Manor are preserved:

50th Edward III and 1st Richard II, Bodleian Library, 'Kent Charters,' 194.
2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th Henry IV, Bodleian Library, 'Kent Charters,' 195.
3rd Henry VI, Bodleian Library, 'Kent Charters,' 196.

5th and 6th Henry VI, Public Record Office, S.P., Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537.
16th Edward IV, Bodleian Library, 'Kent Charters,' 197.
1st to 7th Henry VII, Bodleian Library, 'Kent Charters,' Roll 3.
19th Henry VII, Public Record Office, S.P., Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537.
Customs of the Manor, Bodleian Library, 'Kent Charters,' Roll 4.

The first of these is a beautifully written membrane with grotesques worked into the initial letters.

(7) SCHALDREYMARSH, in the parish of South Benfleet, Essex, is mentioned as a Manor in the 'Status' of 1472.

THE SITE AFTER THE DISSOLUTION

The site of the Abbey, together with the Manors of Lesnes and Faunts, passed in 1534 after the fall of Wolsey to William Brereton, a Groom of the Privy Chamber. He enjoyed it only for some two years when, becoming involved in the treason of Anne Boleyn, his estates were forfeited and he himself suffered execution. The property was granted to Sir Ralph Sadler in 1536, but he, after holding it till 1541, sold the two Manors to Henry Cooke. By this time the Church and most of the Monastic buildings had probably been demolished, but the Abbot's Lodging was retained as the Mansion of the Manor of Lesnes. In a letter in the 'State Papers' dated October 3, 1537, Ralph Sadler mentions that one of his servants was very sick at Assher (? Esher), where his horses stood, and that the King advised him not to repair to his wife, who was at Lesnes and expected the birth of a child.

The property passed from Henry Cooke to his son Edmund and his grandson, Lambert Cooke, who sold it about 1620 to Sir John Leman, who conveyed it shortly after to Sir John Hippersley. During his tenure Sir John had the site dug over for building materials, and during the operations some interesting discoveries were made. They are described by Weever in his 'Funeral Monuments' as follows: 'In the place where the Church thereof sometime stood (which had laine a long time buried in her owne ruines and growne over with Oke, Elme and Ashe trees) certaine workemen appointed by the owner of the Mannour Sir John Epsley, Knight, to digge amongst the rubbish of the decayed fabricke for stones, happened upon a goodly Funerall monument the full proportion of a man in his coate armour cut all in freestone; his sword hanging at his side by a broad belt upon which the Flower de luce was engraven in many places (being as I take it the Rebus or name devise of the Lucies); this his representation or picture lay upon a flat marble stone; that stone upon a trough or coffin of white smooth hewen asheler, in that coffin and in a sheet of lead (both being made fit for the dimension of a dead body); the remains of an ashie drie carkasse lay enwrapped, whole and undisjointed, and upon the head some haire appeared; they

found likewise other statues of men in like manner proportioned as also of a woman in her attire and abiliments with many gravestones and bones of the deceased; to see all which great confluence of people resorted, amongst which number I was not the hindmost.' The burial here described answers in every way to the coffin and body found on the north side of the Presbytery, but the effigy described by Weever has disappeared.

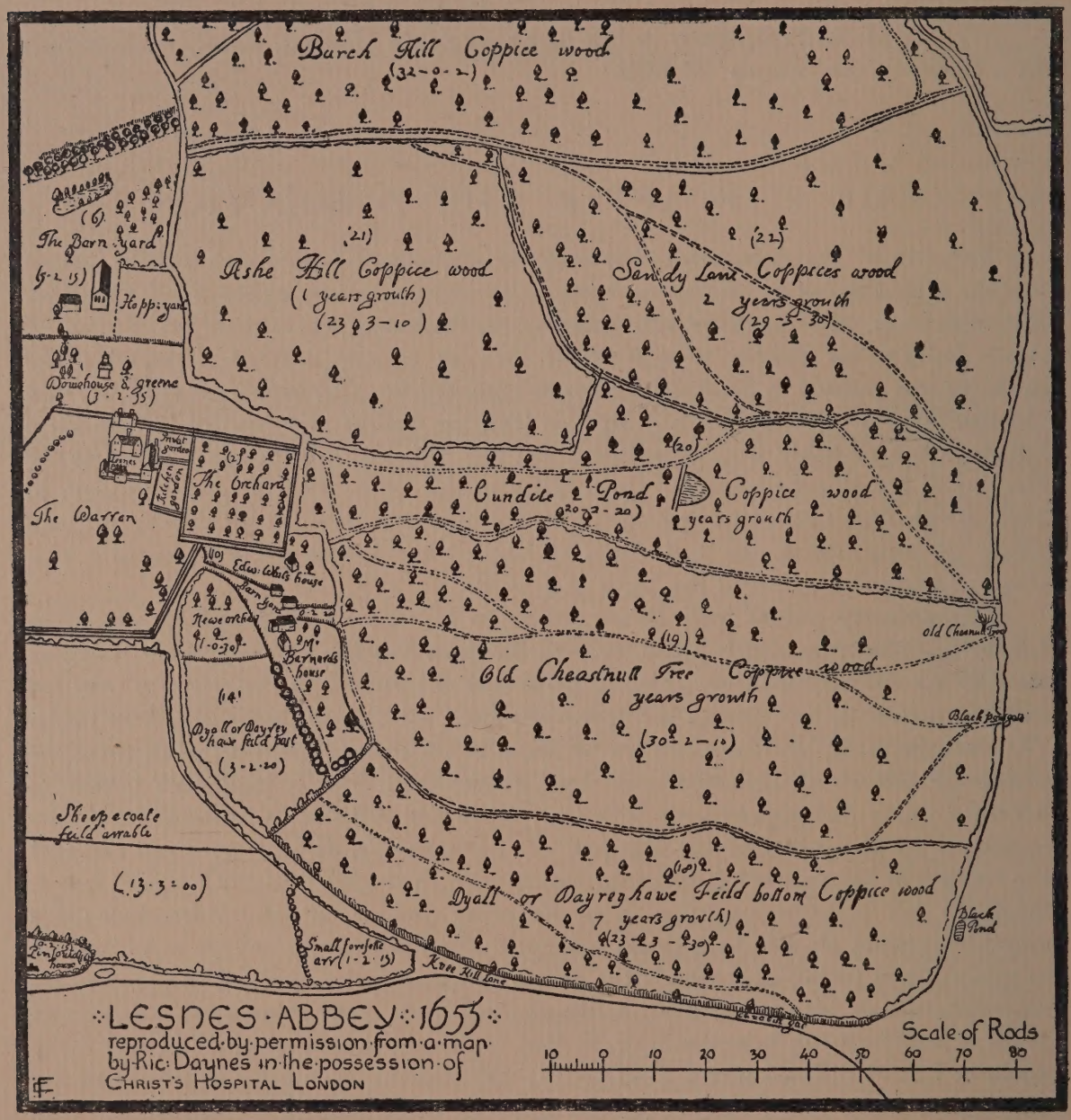


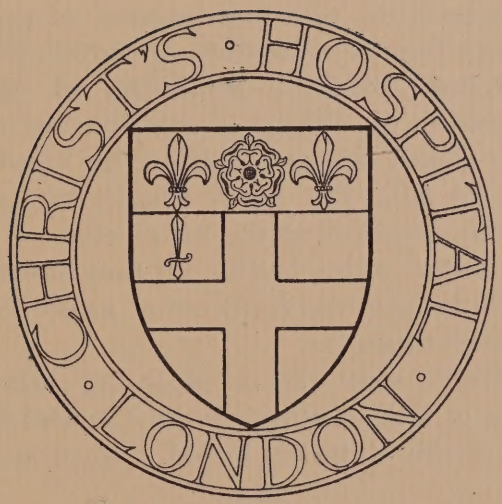
FIG. 3

It appears likely that much of the stone walling now existing on the site was built by Sir John Hippersley from the materials thus obtained, more especially as all these walls are shown on a mid 17th century site plan preserved amongst the muniments of Christ's Hospital (see Fig. 3).

Sir John Hippersley sold the property almost immediately after to Thomas Hawes, of London, who, dying in 1633, bequeathed it on the death of his wife to Christ's Hospital. The transfer is thus recorded in the Charity Accounts of that foundation :

'1633. 17 Sept. Will of Thomas Hawes, Treasurer of Christ's Hospital. Bequest of land at Lesnes, with Abbey (purchased by him of Sir John Hippersley), after the death of his wife, for relief of the poor for ever, subject to small annuities for bread and wine to the churches of St. Mildred, Bread Street, and St. Mildred Poultry.

The lands have remained ever since in the hands of this charity.



PART II.—THE BUILDINGS

OF the Conventual arrangements of the Augustinian Order comparatively little is known owing to the fact that but few of their houses have been systematically excavated. Their existing remains, furthermore, consist very largely of the Conventual Church, the domestic buildings having suffered almost complete demolition throughout the country. It may be stated with confidence, however, that their architectural rules, if any such existed, were far more elastic than those governing the Cistercian or Carthusian Orders, and that the general plan conformed very closely to the Benedictine usage.

It is noteworthy that a larger proportion of the Churches of this Order than of any other were preserved at the Dissolution for parochial purposes, and this is accounted for by the fact that in many of them a parish altar existed before the Reformation. To this cause may be assigned the continued existence of parts of Waltham, Bourne and Dorchester Abbeys, the Priories of Hexham, Lanercost, Bolton, Bridlington, Thurgarton, Blackmore, Royston, Worksop, Dunstable, St. Bartholomew Smithfield, St. Mary Overie, Christchurch, St. Botolph, Colchester, and other Churches.

At Lesnes the Parish Church existed long before the foundation of the Abbey, and has survived long after its fall. The Abbey Church here was wholly Conventual, and as such was completely destroyed at the Reformation.

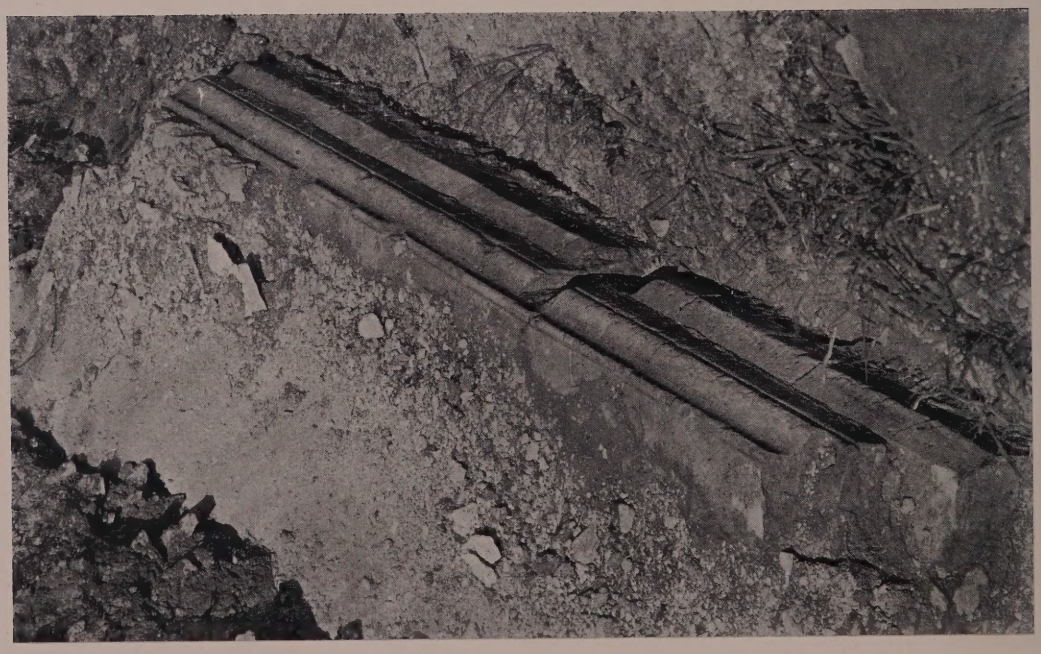
The most noticeable feature of the buildings is their ambitious scale, which, owing to the sudden death of the founder, was really out of proportion to the revenues of the house which had to maintain them.

The materials used for the walls were rag-stone and chalk, and the dressings were almost without exception of Reigate stone, Purbeck marble being sparingly used for shafting. At the close of the Mediaeval Period a small amount of brickwork was employed.

THE PRECINCT

The precise limits of the Precinct at Lesnes are difficult to determine, as the whole of the boundary wall has entirely disappeared. There is, however, little doubt that the highway formed the boundary on the north, and portions of the wall on this side were standing within living memory. Portions of the rubble and chalk foundations

SUNK CHAMBER IN LADY CHAPEL.



INTERNAL PLINTH IN NORTH TRANSEPT.

were also brought to light opposite the western ponds and further east, when the road was recently widened for the tram-lines.

The wall apparently turned southward at the west end, along the line of the narrow lane shown upon the precinct plan, and at the east end probably included in its limits the two ponds just beyond the labourers' cottages, giving a total frontage on the north of about 440 yards. The line of the eastern wall is quite indeterminate, but

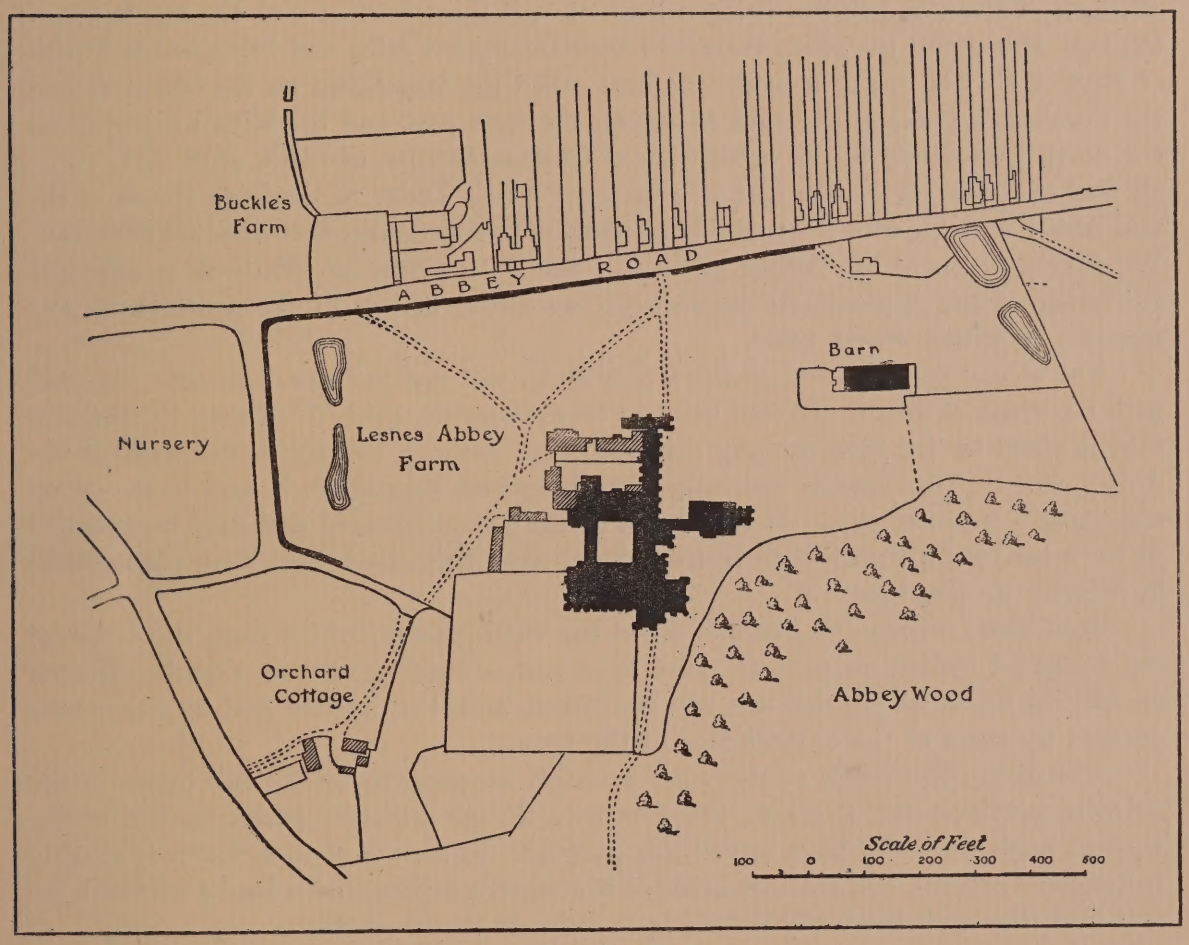


FIG. 4.—PLAN OF PRECINCT

it is unlikely that it was carried up the steep wooded hill to the north of the Abbey barn. On the west side the course of the boundary is preserved in the sketch plan of Stukeley dated 1752, and also in the site plan in the possession of Christ's Hospital dated 1655. It followed the course of the lane before mentioned southward to its junction with another narrow lane running east and west, from whence it took a south-easterly direction, terminating somewhere near the south-west angle of the Abbey

Church. The wall on this side is shown as standing in Stukeley's plan, being there marked 'precinctus monasterii.'

There is evidence of the former existence of two Gate Houses, but the precise position of neither of these has been located. There is some evidence that the Great Gate stood near the centre of the northern wall, on the highway, possibly on the site of the existing farm gate. It is mentioned in an early 16th century indenture(1) between William (Tysehurst) 'by the suffrance of God' Abbot of Lesnes and Thomas Annesley, Citizen of London, being a lease of 'All those barns called the Heybarns of the said Abbey and the yards thereunto appertaining set lying and being in the Parish of Erythe, that is to say between the field called the Woodsfield on the east part and the Cornbarn's yarde of the said Abbey on the west part and the King's highway on the north part, lately in the occupation of Thomas Draper, of Erith, gent. Also . . . all that chamber set on the east side of the Porter's Lodge of the Gate House of the said Abbey entering into the said Abbey and the two chambers over the said chamber.' The juxtaposition of the Abbey barns and the Gate House in this lease is sufficient indication of the approximate position of the latter, as one of the great barns was standing to within recent years.

The second Gate, known as the Upper Gate, was granted as a residence, together with a currody of £10, to Richard Clement on February 9, 1524.(2) It may be surmised that it stood on the lane running east and west, a short distance to the west of the Abbey nave. This lane is evidently a very ancient thoroughfare, and is shown on the Christ's Hospital plan. It terminates at the point indicated and may be assumed to have led to the Upper Gate House, though trial holes sunk here were unsuccessful in locating its position.

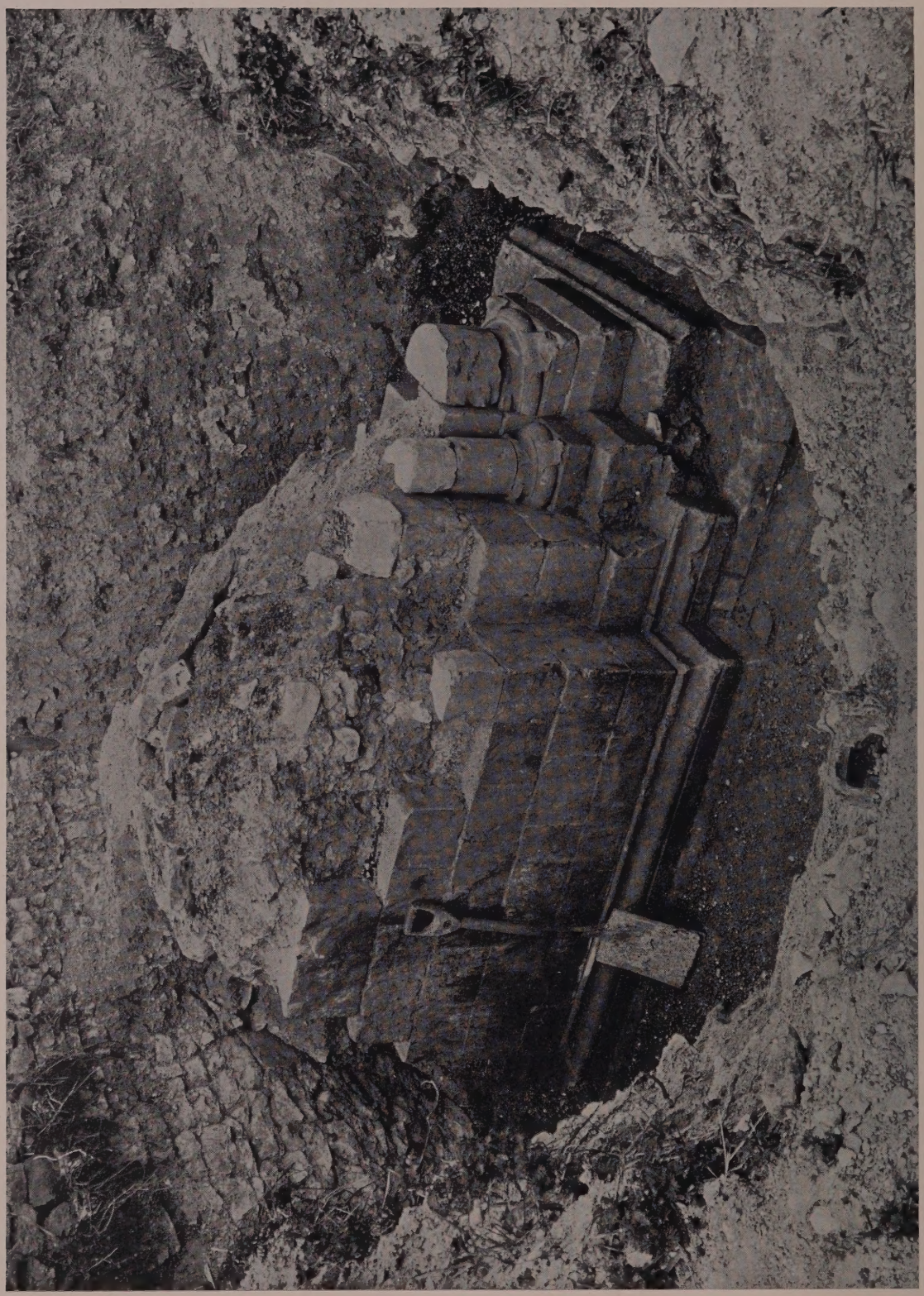
Somewhere within the Precinct stood the Guest House, which from the terms of the document quoted on page 15 must have been a building of some extent. Though search was made, its position was not discovered, and it is possible that its site is now covered by some of the outbuildings of the farm.

The Abbey Fishponds or stews are probably represented by the two ponds in the extreme north-eastern angle of the Precinct, though the two ponds in the north-western angle may also have served this purpose. The lower of these latter is roughly rectangular in form, and cuttings made in the eastern and southern banks revealed the fact that they were originally upheld by a series of stakes or piles.

THE GREAT BARN

One of the Abbey barns remained standing until 1900, when it was pulled down. It stood on an artificially levelled site some distance to the east of the Abbey Farm, and the foundations of rag-stone rubble patched with later brickwork are yet visible

(1) 'State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537. (2) 'State Papers,' Henry VIII.



SOUTH-WEST PIER OF CENTRAL TOWER.

above the turf. It was a remarkably fine structure of its class, 117 ft. 8 in. long by 38 ft. 9 in. wide, and divided into a 'nave' and 'aisles' by massive oak posts, from which sprang curved struts forming a series of rough arches. The uprights stood on oak plates resting on sleeper walls crossing the aisles and dividing them into eight bays. The whole building was covered by one roof, and against the western end was a low annexe of later date (see Plate VI). It is not improbable that this was the structure built by the Abbey early in Henry VIII's reign and costing in the yearly account £16 5*s*. 4*d*.[1]; the queen-posts must, however, be a later alteration.

THE CHURCH

The central or claustral block of the Monastic buildings occupied a comparatively level site on the south side of the Precinct and separated by a steep slope from the road on the north. The Church lay on the south side of the Cloister, the other sides of which were occupied by the Sacristy, Chapter-house, and Dorter, on the east; the Frater, on the north; and the Cellarer's buildings on the west. The Infirmary formed a separate block lying to the east of the Dorter, and the Abbot's Lodging a second distinct block to the north of the Frater. The buildings round the Cloister will first be described in order, the outlying buildings being dealt with subsequently. Only a few Augustinian houses have been systematically examined, of which Haughmond Abbey in Shropshire, Repton in Derbyshire, and Leez Priory in Essex are the most important. The buildings at Lesnes will be found to have numerous points in common with the first-named house. The Church was apparently all set out during the life-time of the founder, and there is no difference in detail between the eastern and western extremities. It consisted, as originally planned, of an aisled nave, transepts with three eastern chapels in each arm, and an aisleless presbytery. The choice of this plan was probably largely due to the influence of the Cistercians, whose building activities were then at their height. It was indeed the typical Cistercian Church, as exemplified in the still remaining examples at Kirkstall, Roche, Buildwas, Furness, Valle Crucis, Sweetheart, and elsewhere.

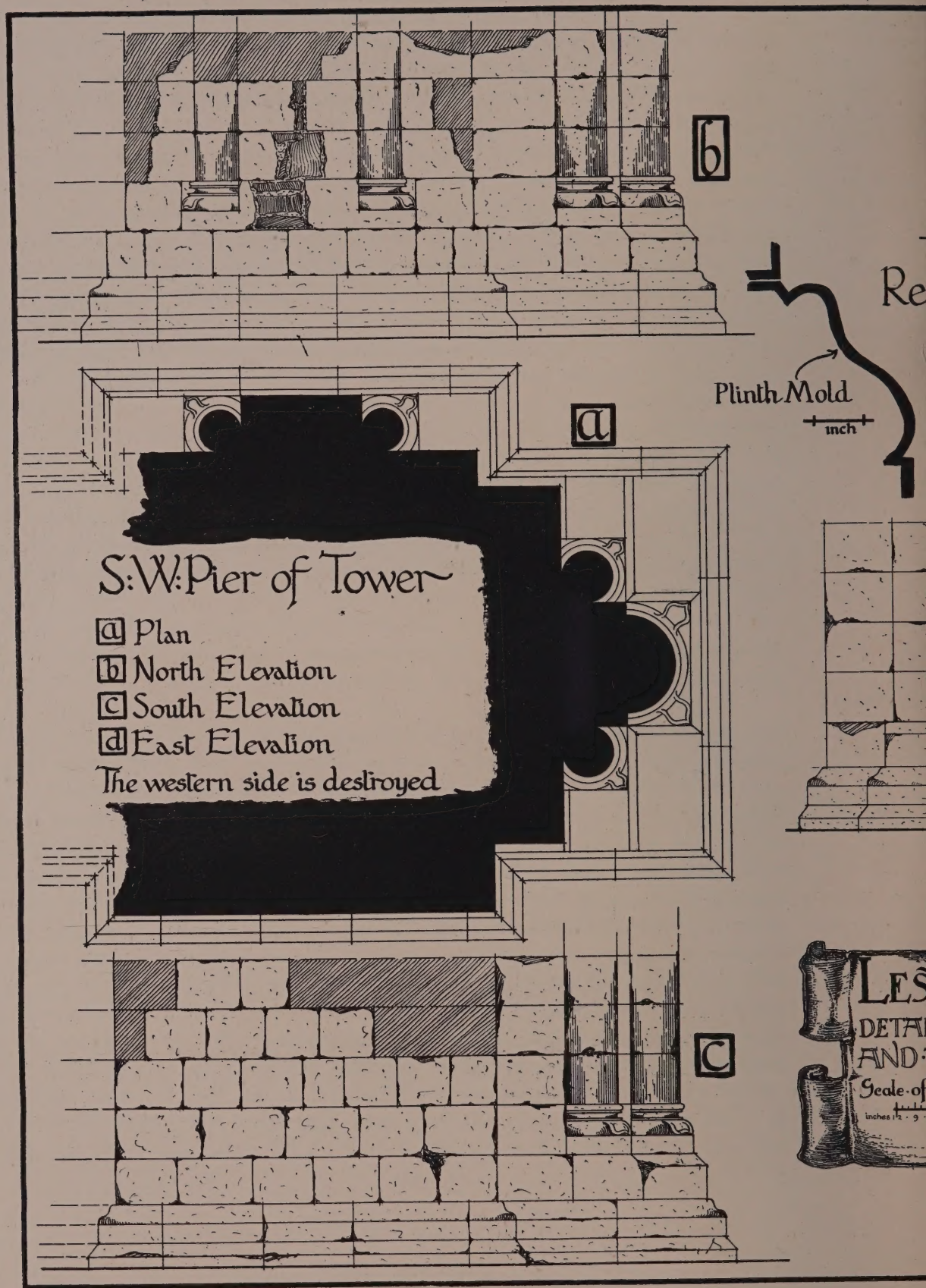
The first Canons of Lesnes, though drawn from the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, were influenced not at all by their old associations, as will be seen by the plan of the Mother House here reproduced. The Church of the Austin Canons at Brinkburn, Northumberland, is the closest parallel to Lesnes within the Order, but here the south nave aisle was absent. At Haughmond the transeptal chapels were of varying length, the inner pair being longer than the outer, as was also the case at Newark Priory, Surrey. At Old Llanthony there was but one large chapel in each arm, while, at Burscough, Lancs., they were entirely absent. All the examples mentioned, however, had an aisleless presbytery.

(1) 'In novo edificatione unius orii in monasterio predicto xvjl. vs. iiijd.'—'State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537.

The presbytery at Lesnes measured internally 46 ft. by 29½ ft., but had suffered very complete demolition. The east end had been entirely dug through for stone, and only the trench formerly occupied by the foundations remained to mark its site. The side walls were hardly in a better state. A certain length of rubble walling was found on the north side standing about a foot above the floor level, and on the south side the foundations extended almost to the east end. The west end of this wall was pierced by an arch opening into the Lady Chapel, and one chamfered angle of the eastern respond was found standing about two feet above the floor level. Within the area of the presbytery and some five feet in advance of the east wall the two rough piers supporting the front of the High Altar were discovered. They were of rough construction, loosely mortared together, and standing on squared pieces of Norman plinth course re-used. On the north side of the presbytery against the remaining fragment of wall was found a stone coffin with a shaped head, containing the bones of a man enclosed in an inner lead envelope, which was shouldered to fit the inside of the outer coffin. This leaden coffin had been torn open (see Plate VII). Between the coffin and the wall a small portion of tile pavement was found *in situ*. In this immediate neighbourhood numerous voussoirs of 13th century vaulting ribs were recovered, pointing to an extensive alteration in the presbytery at that date. The mouldings are good and on each side is a row of bold dog-toothing.

The central tower rested on four large piers forming the crossing, and measuring internally 30½ ft. by 29½ ft. The north-eastern pier had entirely gone, and of the south-eastern only one fragment of plinth course was found *in situ*, but of the western piers the remains were in excellent preservation. Of the two, the south-western was perhaps the more complete, and was standing some six feet above the pavement level.

The work is late 12th century, the responds of the transept arches consisting of a half-round central shaft with two smaller circular side shafts, each having moulded bases of the ' hold-water ' type, with carved spur ornaments at the angles. The abutments of the western arch opening into the Nave are similar except that the half-round shaft is here omitted owing to the presence of the choir stalls on this side. The responds to the nave aisle are of plain ashlar, and those of the nave arcade were unfortunately destroyed when the existing stone wall was built across the site early in the 17th century. A double plinth course is carried round each pier, as shown on the detail here reproduced, and forming low benches at the eastern angles. It consists of an ogee upper member and a plain chamfer below (see Plates XI and XII). The spur ornaments on these bases are a somewhat unusual feature in this part of the country, but occur also in the contemporary work in the nave of Dunstable Priory. Traces of the screen wall, against which the choir stalls were set, were found against the north-west pier. It was about a foot thick and composed of small rubble, plastered on each face. The tower had also a rubble core faced with ashlar. A considerable extent of tile paving was found *in situ* round the south-west pier, the



THE WATFORD ENGRAVING Co LTD
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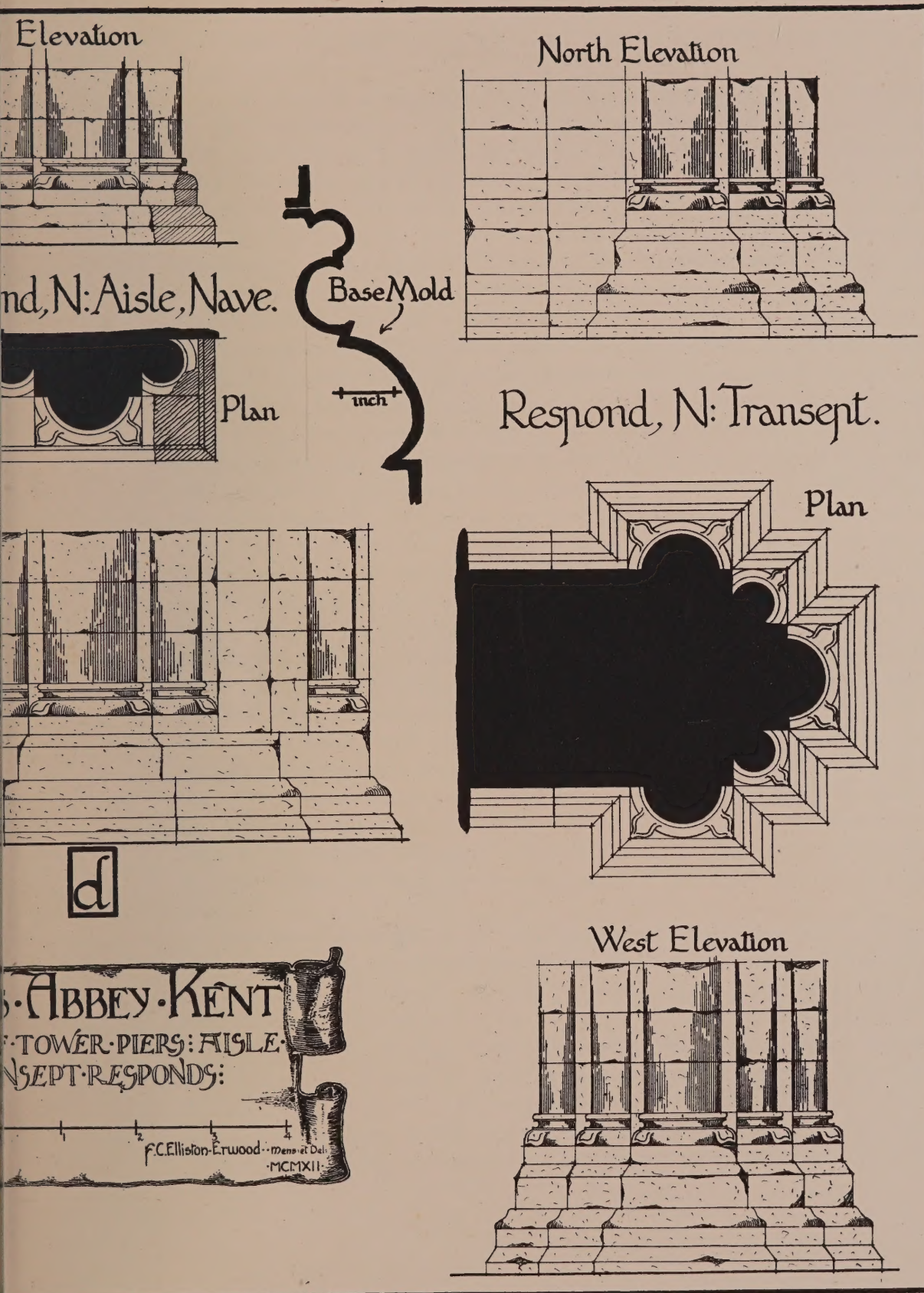

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tiles being irregularly laid, a few being pattern tiles, but mostly plain with a rough glazed surface.

The transept as originally designed had three chapels in each arm and remains of all three were found on the north. This arm measured internally 45 ft. by 30½ ft., the west wall being 5 ft. thick and the end wall 5 ft. 11 in. On the west side it was destroyed to the top of the double plinth course, which was carried round the inner face of the walls. In detail this was similar to that of the tower piers, an ogee and a chamfer, but its occurrence on an internal wall is unusual (see Plate X). A simple plinth, however, occurs in the north transept at Selby (Yorks.), and in the presbytery of Buildwas Abbey (Salop). About half way along (15¾ ft. from the north angle) this wall was pierced by a late doorway (4½ ft. wide) to the cloister, probably of late 15th or early 16th century date. The cutting was very rough, the sides being plastered and the threshold paved irregularly with glazed and slip tiles.

Only the foundations remained of most of the north transept wall; it must, however, have been pierced by a door to the Sacristy, adjoining it on the north. Of the arcade on the east side opening to the three chapels the base of the pier between the first and second was found largely intact, and a considerable portion also remained of the north respond. The remaining pier was completely destroyed, but evidence was found that a sleeper wall of rubble was carried right along below the arcade. The piers consisted of two main half-round shafts to the north and south, and a third facing out towards the transept and divided from the others by smaller circular shafts (see Plates VII and IX). The details of the bases and plinths were exactly similar to the central tower piers. At the back of the pier the plinth was carried straight back with a plain ashlar face above, apparently to form a square respond to the chapel arch.

The north respond of the arcade was in the form of half a pier except that the half column was not repeated on the western face. The arrangement of the three transeptal chapels was singular in that their combined width was not equal to the length of the transept arm, as was usual in Cistercian churches. The outer wall, some 3⅓ ft. thick, was supported by a clasping buttress at the north-east angle, and by small flat buttresses between the chapels. The northernmost chapel was completely cleared and the bases of small circular vaulting shafts were found, of late 12th century date, in the eastern angles.

Numerous voussoirs of the vaulting ribs were also discovered, of the same date, and consisting of a bold half-round and two hollow chamfers. They bore traces of red colouring. The arches between the chapels had subsequently been filled in with solid walls, probably later than the 14th century, as a portion of moulded window jamb of this date was found used in the wall between the first and second chapels. On either side of the altar in the first chapel a narrow recess or seat had been hollowed out in the east wall, 20 in. deep and about 17 in. wide. The sill of the southernmost was paved with small glazed tiles at a convenient height to serve as a seat, but the vaulting shaft adjacent to the northern one had been cut away as though to receive a wooden

shelf (see Plate IX). Between them the base of the altar wall, 5 ft. 2 in. wide and 3 ft. 2 in. in projection, was uncovered, and about the middle of the chapel traces of two steps were found. Beneath the dividing wall between this and the next chapel was a chalk vault with a segmental roof of the same material, sprung from east to west with rough masses of flint inserted at the crown as a key. It was apparently unused, and adjoining it on the north were remains of a second vault of similar construction. The second chapel retained its vaulting shaft and an eastern recess at the north-east angle, but south of this the walls were destroyed to below the floor level. A portion of the original paving was, however, preserved, round the vaulting shaft, and consisted of pattern fleur de lis tiles alternating with dark green glaze with excellent effect. In the third chapel the vaulting shaft base remained in the south-east angle with the plinth of that in the north-east angle, and between them were portions of an altar base similar to that in the first chapel. No trace, however, remained of an eastern recess. Each of the chapels measured 12 ft. 1 in. from east to west by 11 ft. 4 in. wide.

The south transept walls were not completely uncovered, but the internal angle with the nave aisle was located and also the south-west angle of the transept. At this point a massive clasping buttress was discovered. A similar buttress supported the south-eastern angle, but here only a portion of the east face remained. There is little doubt that originally the three transeptal chapels were repeated in this arm, but in the 14th century they were pulled down to make room for the Lady Chapel, which was in course of construction in 1371 (see p. 18). This chapel, however, only occupied the site of part of the inner two of the earlier period, and the subsequent arrangement to the south of it is very obscure. No definite walls were discovered, but a rough rubble foundation was found 3 ft. to the east of the line of the former transept arcade. It was apparently the base of a screen, but nothing could be discovered to the east of it, and the more reasonable position for a screen would be at the entrance and not within the chapel.

The Lady Chapel was a rectangular building, conterminous with and flanking the presbytery on the south. The position is the same as that occupied by similar structures at Little Dunmow and Leez Priories, Essex, erected about the same period. Repton Priory (Derby) and Bristol Abbey (the Cathedral) also present somewhat similar features.

The building at Lesnes was 48 ft. long by 19 ft. wide. It must have been entered from the transept by a wide arch, of which only the rough foundation of the north respond remained. The rubble base of a screen ran across the entrance, and immediately outside it a certain amount of tile paving remained *in situ*. Portions of the east and south walls were found in a very fragmentary state, with the rough foundation of a diagonal buttress at the south-east angle, and of another buttress to the south wall, 17 ft. to the west.

The construction of the east wall was somewhat singular, the inner face having a pronounced batter apparently above the floor line as it was rendered on the face.

CLOISTER, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST.

CLOISTER AND NORTH WALL OF FRATER.

This was probably done to counteract the pressure, as the ground level to the east was evidently considerably higher than the floor level within. The internal arrangements of the chapel are of very considerable interest and present some exceedingly difficult problems. Nine feet in advance of the east wall stood a wooden screen, the sill of which was morticed into the south wall, the hole being still apparent, and this probably served as the altar screen or reredos. Behind it a sunk chamber was excavated in the floor, of the irregular form shown upon the accompanying plan, and approached by a

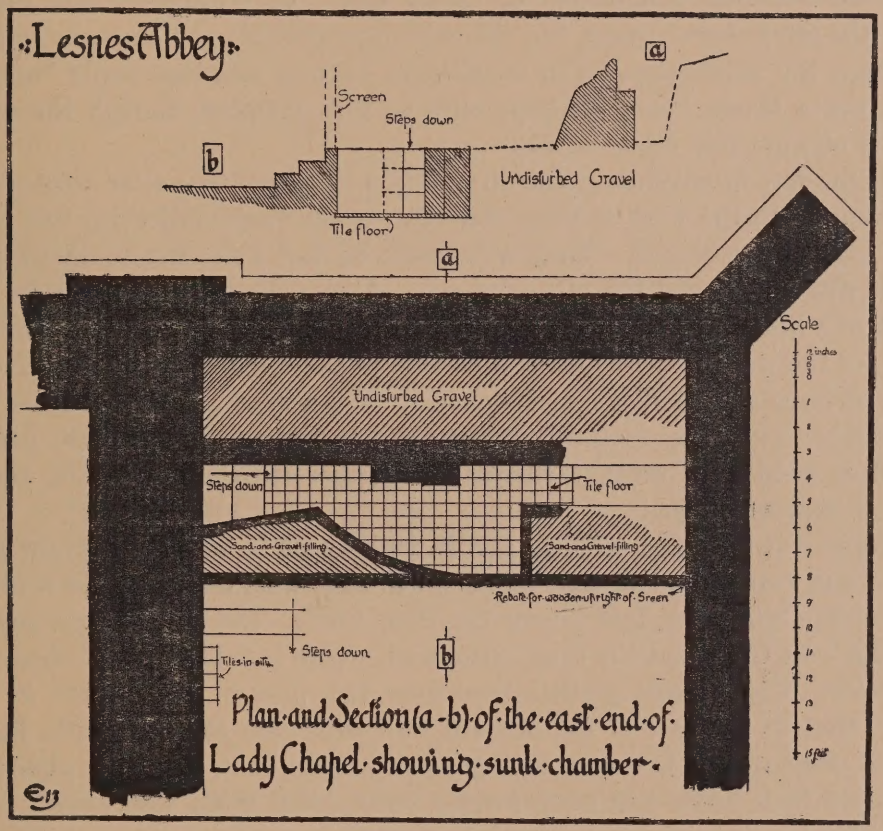


FIG. 5

flight of steps, the three lowest of which remained, cut through the south presbytery wall. The chamber, only 4 ft. 4 in. wide, was paved with pattern tiles, the retaining walls being of the roughest construction and plastered on the face. There was no apparent wall at the south end, the tiles here coming to an abrupt termination. The chamber was never roofed in, as traces of paving were found round it, and was only sunk 2 ft. 8 in. below the surrounding level. The purpose of this curious feature is exceedingly difficult to determine as no precisely analogous example is known to exist. Chambers of somewhat similar character exist in the north transept at Wonersh Church, Surrey, and behind the altar at Tunstead Church, Norfolk, but in each case they either

are or have been vaulted in and were obviously used to preserve the sacred vessels and other valuables from the risk of fire. The lack of a stone roof at Lesnes precludes this explanation, and one is driven to the conclusion that the sunk chamber was a 'Holy Hole' similar to that still existing behind the High Altar of Winchester Cathedral. A wooden superstructure possibly supported the feretory containing the various relics possessed by the Abbey (see p. 33), and provision was perhaps also made for the miraculous image of the Virgin mentioned in the Papal indults already quoted (p. 18). Access to the Sanctum Sanctorum, or 'Holy Hole,' at Winchester was gained by a door from the retro-choir beyond, but this was impracticable at Lesnes, and an entrance was cut from the presbytery. The mention in 1470 of offerings made 'apud le wice in capella beate Mariae' may perhaps refer to this chamber, though the meaning of the term is obscure (see Note, p. 61).

Some nine feet in advance of the altar screen, traces of two altar steps were found, and immediately to the west of them were two chalk vaults adjoining one another on the south side of the chapel. They were some $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, the southern being wide enough for two bodies and the other for one. Above the latter was a large slab with the indent of a brass, and within it a mutilated recumbent effigy, both described subsequently. To the west of these graves a portion of the original paving remained *in situ*, consisting of large square tiles laid diagonally, with a single square of stone occurring in the middle. Numerous moulded stones from jambs and arches were found in the chapel, all of good 14th century character, together with a number of vaulting rib voussoirs of curious section.

The Nave was an aisled building 132 ft. long by 30 ft. wide. It is now planted as an orchard, and two and a half bays of the north aisle wall, including the western angle, remain standing some ten feet above the floor level. The excavations revealed the whole of the west front and the south aisle wall, which had been demolished flush with the pavement. The present ground level over this part of the Church is some feet lower than that to the east of the orchard wall with cuts across the site just to the west of the crossing. It is on an average hardly more than a foot or eighteen inches above the old floor level, and consequently little detail work was found. The nave was eight bays long, the aisles opening into the transept with a square respond on each side with a plinth. No trace was found of the nave piers, but sleeper walls some 6 ft. thick were carried beneath them from end to end of the building. Fragments of square fluted late 12th century capitals found under the crossing probably belonged to the nave arcade as there is no other position to which they can be assigned, and in this case the nave piers must have been square on plan. The position of the pulpitum may also be arrived at by a process of elimination, as no trace of it could be discovered. It must consequently have stood between the first pair of nave piers west of the crossing, as here no examination was possible owing to the presence of a row of pig-sties on the site. A garden wall, of early 17th century date, follows the line of the eastern portion of the north aisle wall and portions of the earlier rubble are visible

CHAPTER HOUSE, JAMB OF THE DOORWAY.

CHAPTER HOUSE, DOORWAY.

CHAPTER HOUSE, COFFIN LIDS.

beneath it. The western portion is still standing, and against it were found the bases of two responds of the aisle vault (see Plate VII). They were precisely similar in detail to the tower piers and consisted of a square flanked by two circular shafts with moulded bases and spur ornaments at the angles. In the north-west angle of the aisle the base of a circular vaulting shaft was uncovered, and the outer wall in the last bay was pierced by a doorway, of which the splayed eastern jamb remained *in situ*. The springers of a segmental arch were also visible and the door was probably of 13th century date, and formed the western processional entrance.

The north-west angle was supported externally by a massive clasping buttress 6 ft. 5 in. wide on each face (see Plate VIII). The west wall of the nave, some 3 ft. thick, had flat pilaster buttresses 8 ft. wide opposite the arcades, and between them was a great west door, 14 ft. 9 in. wide and flanked by a pair of small buttresses. It was evidently recessed in numerous orders, but traces were left of only the outer two on the north jamb.

Immediately within the door a portion of pavement of rough-glazed tiles was found, and on it were the ashes of a fire with fragments of lead run in amongst them, and probably marking the place where the roof lead was melted down at the Dissolution. The south aisle was somewhat narrower than its fellow on the north (11 ft. 6 in. as against 13 ft.), but was evidently of the same date. The clasping buttress at the south-west angle was uncovered, with a series of flat buttresses 3 ft. 8 in. wide, marking the bays of the south wall. No trace was found of a south door or porch such as existed at Holy Trinity, Aldgate.

The total internal length of the Church at Lesnes was 234 ft. by 66 ft. across the transept, the nave being amongst the largest Augustinian naves in the country.

THE CLOISTER

The Cloister (see Plate XIII) lay on the north side of the nave, a position of very common occurrence in the Home Counties, but elsewhere the exception. The mother house at Aldgate was similarly arranged, and Dorchester, Worksop, Little Leez, St. Osyth, Thoby, St. Mary Overy, Blackmore, Repton, and Cartmel provide other examples within the Augustinian Order. It measured 94½ ft. from east to west by 108½ ft. from north to south. Only the west wall remains standing, but it appears probable that it was originally planned square, but was reduced in size when the west range came to be built in the 13th century. It makes a straight joint with the north wall of the Church and does not correspond to the respond of the nave aisle, thus rendering a western processional door impossible in the usual position (i.e. opposite the west alley of the Cloister). At the north end of this wall several corbels, once supporting the wall plate, are still visible. The alleys appear to have been some

10 ft. wide, and a portion of the arcade wall was uncovered opposite the Chapter-house door on the east. From its thickness it appears probable that it was originally intended to vault this alley in stone. A short length of arcade wall about a foot thick was found on the north of the Cloister, and its position on the west side was apparent from a trench on the west side, though the wall itself had been removed. The east side of the Cloister was bounded by the north transept of the Church, the Sacristy, the Chapter-house and the Dorter with the Warming-house and other apartments beneath it.

THE SACRISTY

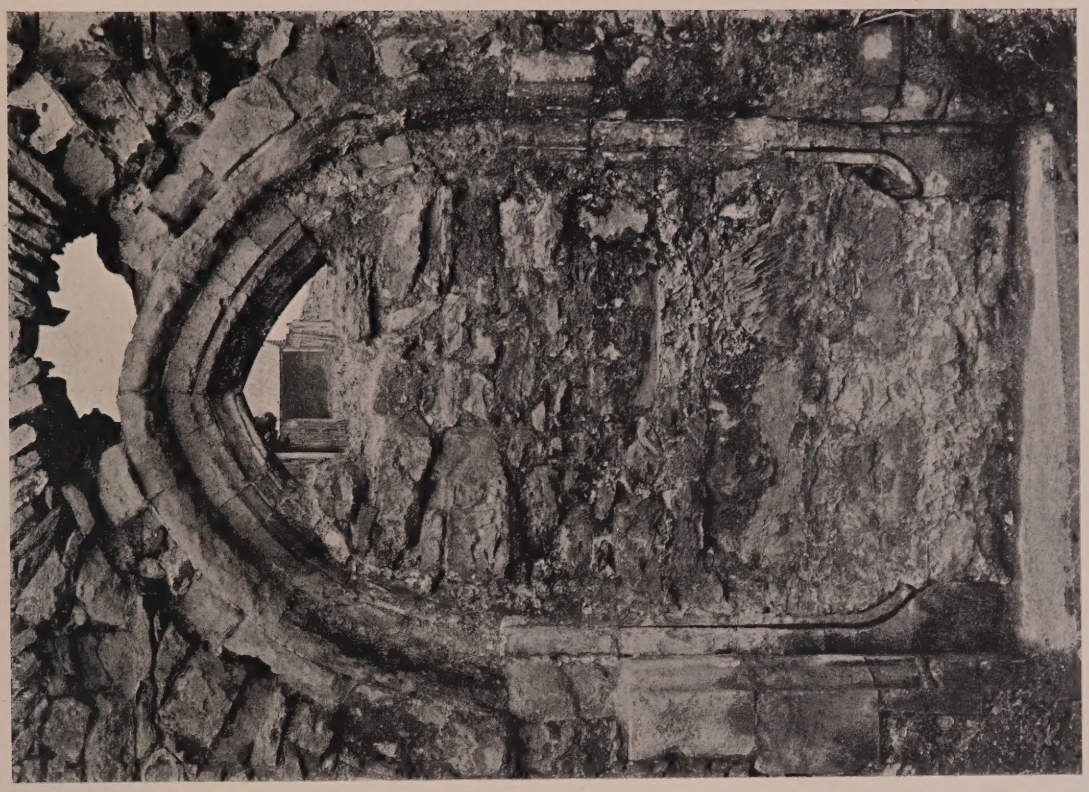
The Sacristy was a small apartment adjoining the transept on the north and measuring 23 ft. by 12 ft. 3 in. The plastered inner face of the west wall was uncovered and stood about three feet above the floor level. The eastern angles were also located. It must have been entered from the Church, as was usual, but the doorway was not found, nor any trace of the altar.

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE

The Chapter-house was a rectangular apartment 51 ft. 6 in. long by 26 ft. 6 in. wide, and was one of the original 12th century buildings. The west, north and east walls remained standing for some two feet above the floor level, but on the south it was almost entirely destroyed. The outer walls, some 4½ ft. thick, were supported at the east end by clasping buttresses at the angles and an intermediate one in the centre of the east wall.

The dimensions of the Chapter-house closely approximate to those of the mother house at Aldgate, where this apartment measured some 56 ft. by 30 ft.; indeed, the whole planning of the domestic portion of the claustral block is very similar in the two cases.

The Lesnes building was entered by an archway from the Cloister, in the centre of the west wall, 5½ ft. wide. It was recessed in three orders on the inner face and probably also on the outer; the inner order was formed with a half-round shaft, and the two outer had circular shafts, all with hold-water bases and spur ornaments (see Plate XIV). The bases were intact on the south jamb, but only the offsets below remained on the north. Inside the walls a double bench ran round the Chapter-house, stopping on either side the west door, and having the lower bench brought out in a semi-octagonal projection in front of the Abbot's seat at the east end. Most of the lower and some of the upper bench remained, both being of rough



DOORWAY, SOUTH-WEST OF CLOISTER.

THE DORTER STAIRS.

construction with a thin rubble wall in front filled in with loose material behind. The stone bench slabs had all been removed, but they appear to have been pinned up at the west end with large square tiles, roughly glazed. Similar tiles formed the pavement, which appears to have been raised some six or eight inches in later mediaeval times to bring it flush with the upper surface of the coffin slabs in the floor.

Three stone coffins (see Plate XIV) were found *in situ* in the Chapter-house, one still having its original slab in position. The first was immediately in front of the Abbot's seat, and contained the bones of a man; the second, further west and near the south wall, also contained a male skeleton wrapped in a garment of rough sack-cloth. The slab still resting on the coffin had been broken in half and clamped together with iron clamps. It was of marble, quite plain, with two hollows mitred round the upper edge. The third coffin lay near the centre, further west, and contained the bones of a man of quite unusual height. In addition to these, four coffin slabs were dug up in various parts of the building, but none of them were *in situ*, and they will be described subsequently.

THE PARLOUR

Adjoining the Chapter-house on the north was a rectangular apartment 25 ft. 9 in. by 13 ft. 6 in. It was entered by a door 4 ft. 10 in. wide from the Cloister, and probably served as the Parlour and passage to the Cemetery. If so, it must have had a second door in the east wall, but on this side the remains were obscured by post Reformation work superimposed upon them. This building may have been included in the Dorter range.

THE DORTER AND WARMING-HOUSE

The Dorter range formed a long building of the same width as the Parlour and extending north from it for a distance of 117 ft. It was two stories high and divided into eight bays. The Dorter itself was upon the first floor, the ground floor being used for various purposes, the northern portion forming the Warming-house.

Immediately north of the Parlour and divided from it by a wall 4 ft. 2 in. thick was the Dorter stair (see Plate XV). There appears to have been no separate night stair here as at Hexham and elsewhere, and the arrangement was exactly similar at Aldgate. The stair, 5 ft. 6 in. wide, was entered from the Cloister by a door of which the lower part of the jambs was intact. It was of a single order with a quarter-round shaft of late 12th century date cut on each jamb. Portions of the first six steps of the stair remained *in situ*, the three lowest being entire and having a 12 in. tread. Level with the third step there appears to have been a

narrow door communicating with the Dorter substructure, and of this traces of the west jamb were found. Beneath the landing of the stair was a second door cut in the east wall, of which the splayed inner jamb on the north side was discovered. Immediately to the north of it was a single-light late 12th century window blocked in later mediaeval times, of which the splayed jambs remained. The substructure of the Dorter was eight bays in length and the east wall was uncovered for the whole of its length. It was standing some five feet above the floor at the south end and somewhat less at the north end. The west wall of the five southern bays remains standing for nearly its full height. The part belonging to the two southern bays formed the gable end of the Frater range, but the three bays to the north of it apparently stood free. The two northernmost bays on this side are covered by the modern farm-house. The whole building appears to date from the end of the 12th century and was probably cut up into apartments by wooden partitions. The floor of the Dorter was also of wood, and was no doubt supported on a row of timber posts down the centre. The three or four northern bays of the substructure almost certainly formed the Warming-house.

The east wall was divided into bays by flat pilaster buttresses 3 ft. 3 in. wide with a massive clasping buttress at the north-east angle 8 ft. wide on each return. The buttresses had each a chamfered plinth course stopping against the main wall, which was 4 ft. 4 in. thick on the east and west and 5 ft. thick at the north end. In the second bay from the south was a single light deeply splayed window and in the next bay to the north was a two-light window, both with late mediaeval blocking. The fourth bay was blank, but in the fifth, traces were found of another single light. The sixth bay was occupied by the great fireplace of the Warming-house, 5 ft. 4 in. wide, with chamfered jambs and an ashlar-faced back segmental on plan (see Plate XVI). In the middle of the seventh bay was a small doorway 3 ft. 3 in. wide, with chamfered external jambs and having four stone steps in the thickness of the wall descending to the Warming-house (see Plate XVI). In the last bay the southern internal splay of another window was found. No windows are visible in the remaining portions of the west wall of the substructure, but a door may perhaps have existed in the fifth bay from the south. The bases of the pilaster buttresses on either side of it were located with evidence of a later building adjoining at this point. This consisted of the start of two walls, one only one foot thick, adjoining the northern buttress and one rather over two feet thick, 7 ft. 4 in. to the south of it.

Of the Dorter itself only the portion of the west wall before mentioned remains standing. The set-off for the floor remains for the whole length and in the fifth bay is a single light round-headed window of late 12th century date. This opening is exceedingly puzzling as the internal splays are on the west side, and it looks into the Dorter. It is immediately above the traces of the adjoining building before mentioned, and may imply the existence of a gallery from the Abbot's Lodging.

THE RERE-DORTER

The Rere-dorter occupied a position common in Benedictine and Cluniac houses across the end of the Dorter building and connected with it by a short corridor. It was a long late 12th century building, 44 ft. by 14 ft. internally, the angles being supported by two flat buttresses with an intermediate buttress 4¼ ft. wide in the centre of the north wall. The walls were not completely excavated, and most of the east end had apparently been destroyed, but sufficient of the north and south walls were uncovered to determine its plan. The water-course flushing the Rere-dorter was usually confined by an internal wall carried longitudinally through the building, but no trace of this could be found. The walls of the corridor connecting it with the Dorter were located, the passage being, of course, on the first floor, and below it was apparently a cellar 18 ft. long and 3 ft. wide, approached from the Warming-house by a rough cutting in the end wall with two rough steps down. A third wall connecting the two buildings was found 11½ ft. further west, with traces of a fourth beyond it. These probably represented the passage connecting the Rere-dorter with the Abbot's Lodging. A similar passage connected the two buildings at Haughmond (Salop). Adjoining the former building on the west was a rectangular annexe with a second annexe beyond it, each about 13 ft. from north to south by 6 ft. wide. They probably contained two garde robes connected with the Abbot's Lodging, and were of different builds, perhaps 14th and 15th centuries, with a straight joint between them.

THE FRATER

The Frater flanked the Cloister on the north side and, as at Aldgate, Walsingham, Haughmond and elsewhere, was on the ground floor. The western half of the north wall (see Plate XIII) still remains standing, about 10 ft. high, with the return wall at the east end. At this end there was undoubtedly a passage leading to the court-yard beyond, and the east jamb of the doorway entering it from the Cloister was uncovered. No trace of the outer door remained owing to a modern rebuilding of the eastern half of the north Frater wall. The Frater itself was 25½ ft. wide by about 80 ft. long, and was divided into seven bays. An original drawing (see Plate III) dated 1752 by Stukeley, in the British Museum, shows the north wall standing to its full height and pierced by eight tall pointed windows, but this must be received with caution, and the author probably drew somewhat upon his imagination, as he shows a lower range of windows which the existing remains prove to have never existed. Below the large windows runs a string course, and this still remains to the western half of the wall, but the moulding has entirely weathered away.

The second and third bays from the east were occupied by the Frater pulpit (see Plate XVI), from which one of the brethren read for the edification of the convent during meals. The projection in the second bay is slight and contained a straight flight of steps leading up into the pulpit. The core beneath these steps still remains in part, and in the wall above are two small lancet windows, with rebated external jambs, following the rake of the stairs. Both were blocked but have now been opened out, the lower one being quite perfect, with plastered internal splays. The pulpit itself

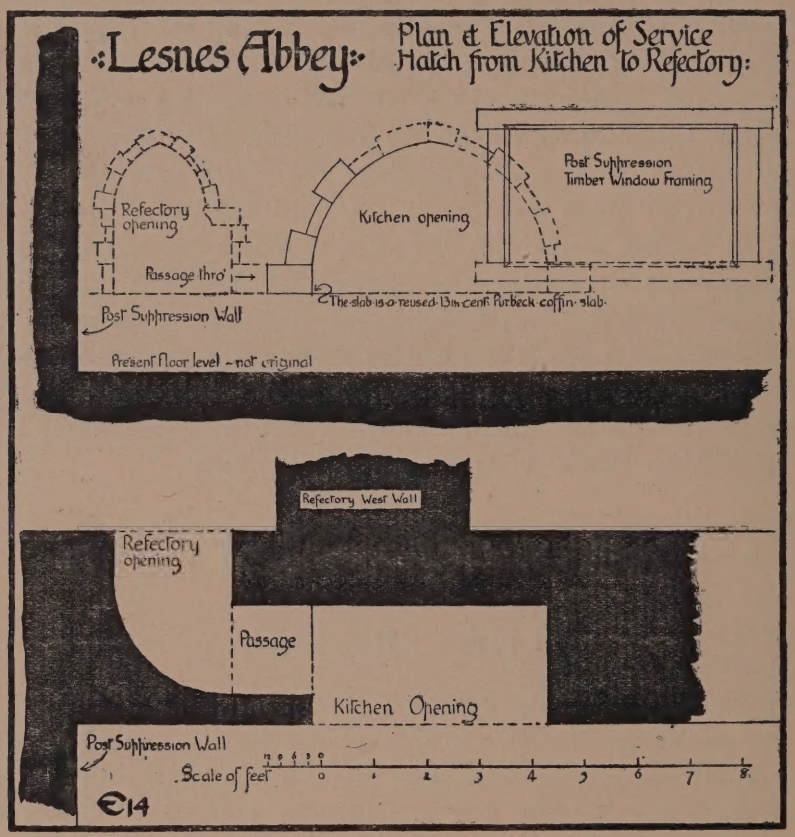


FIG. 6

forms a deeper projection in the third bay, and the wall here has been broken through and otherwise patched and altered. On the top of the wall the stone sill of one of the large windows shown by Stukeley still remains, and may be assigned to the 14th century. This dates the pulpit itself, which is an addition to the main building and to the staircase recess. The latter is of early 13th century date, while the main Frater walls are undoubtedly of the late 12th century.

The western bay of the Frater was shut off by the screens covering the entries to the kitchen and offices and also the doorway from the Cloister. The arrangements

FRATER PULPIT.

STAIRS IN WARMING HOUSE.

FIREPLACE IN WARMING HOUSE.

here had been extensively altered in the early 16th century, when the position of the kitchen was apparently altered. The west wall was destroyed above ground but was excavated for its entire length. At the northern end was the base of a late 12th century door 4 ft. wide, with a quarter-round shaft cut on each jamb and a chamfered plinth. This had been blocked in late mediaeval times. The return of the south Frater wall, 3½ ft. thick, was located, but had been destroyed to the foundations and with it all trace of the Cloister doorway. At the north end of the screens was a wide doorway leading to the kitchen. It was almost entirely destroyed, but the western outer jamb chamfered on the edge remains for some height embedded in the wall of the adjoining shed. The internal jambs were of early 16th century brickwork chamfered on the edge, and of these a few courses, at the base, were uncovered.

Immediately to the west of the door is the serving hatch, through which the food was passed from the kitchen to the Frater. Though damaged on both sides, it remains largely intact and consists of an aperture, making a double elbow bend in the thickness of the wall. The opening on the Frater side had an arched front, now destroyed, a semi-domed vault of chalk and a quadrant ashlar-faced bend at the back. The hatch itself was unusually low and measured 20 in. by 7½ in. high. The head and sides were chamfered and the sill consisted of an old tomb-slab, with hollow chamfered edge reversed. The inner opening to the kitchen was by a broad pointed arch of which the eastern half remained *in situ*, but the western had been cut away for a 17th century window opening. The hatch was blocked and the kitchen arch invisible, but it has now been opened out and will be permanently preserved.

THE KITCHEN

The kitchen appears to have been largely altered or rebuilt in the early 16th century, to which date the doorway and hatch already described may be assigned. The building itself lay to the north of the Frater and overlapped all the building adjoining it on the west. This position is precisely that occupied by the kitchen of Holy Trinity, Aldgate. No excavations were possible at Lesnes as the site is occupied by farm buildings. The north wall of the Frater is, however, continued in a straight line westward for about 57 ft., and though cut by several 17th century and later openings is without any architectural features and is of rag-stone rubble similar to that employed in the Frater itself.

THE WESTERN RANGE

The western range, though contemplated, appears not to have been actually constructed when the other buildings round the Cloister were erected. The present eastern wall, which is all that remains standing, is of 13th century date and impinges on the

true square originally designed for the Cloister, so that the earlier Frater overlaps it a few feet at the north end. It followed originally the usual form of these buildings, which were used by the Cellarer for storing supplies, and was a long and narrow apartment two storeys high. The upper floor was perhaps the Guest-house, as was often the case elsewhere, and had a wooden floor, the corbel holes for which are still visible in the remaining wall. At its south end was the outer parlour, a short passage against the north wall of the Church, and entered from the Cloister by a pointed doorway (see Plate XVII) still intact and the most perfect surviving feature above ground. It dates from the 14th century and has moulded jambs and head on the east face and splayed and beaded jambs with probably a segmental pointed arch on the west side. The Parlour must have been used as the western processional entrance to the Church. A second doorway of different character, but much decayed and damaged, stands 81 ft. to the north. The whole of this range except the Cloister wall appears to have been pulled down in later mediaeval times, the parlour being replaced by a pentise with a flat leaded roof (see Plate XVII). The line where the lead was tucked in is visible on the Church wall just above the row of ragged holes from which the roof corbels have been torn away. The foundations of the outer or western wall were apparently grubbed up, as no trace of them could be found, and on the northern end of the site a group of buildings was erected of somewhat doubtful purpose. It appears probable that these structures are referred to in the early 16th century Sacrist's account already quoted, where reference is made to the expenditure in one year of £56 7*s.* 10*d.* on new building to the kitchen, larder-house, slaughter-house, the entry and the Frater.[1] The conjunction of these names in the account argues proximity and the buildings in question certainly adjoin the kitchen and Frater. One of the apartments, however, appears from its internal arrangements to have been the Brew-house (domus pandoxatoris), on which £13 2*s.* 4*d.* was spent in the same year. Turning now to the remains discovered, the northernmost building adjoined the Frater on the east and was 31 ft. from north to south, the width being indeterminate owing to the presence of a 17th century barn on the west side. The north wall is still standing and forms the south side of the kitchen ; in it are two post-suppression openings, of which the western may mark the site of an earlier doorway.

The apartment extended beyond the Frater on the south and was bounded on this side by a rubble wall 1 ft. 9 in. thick, with a doorway at each end. The eastern door adjoined the Cloister wall and was approached round the south-west angle of the Frater, the western door was blocked. The south wall of the Frater originally continued on to the west, and traces of its foundations were discovered. It is not improbable that this building was the first kitchen and that when the new kitchen was built out to the north, the old door to the Frater was blocked and the apartment turned into the larder-house mentioned in the Sacrist's account. Adjoining it on the south were two

[1] ' In nova edificatione Coquine, domus lardarie, le Slauterhouse, le entry et le Fraytor, monasterii predicti, lvjl. vijs. xd.'—' State Papers,' Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537.

To face page 56.

NORTH WALL OF NAVE, EXTERIOR.

DOORWAY, SOUTH-WEST OF CLOISTER, WEST FACE.

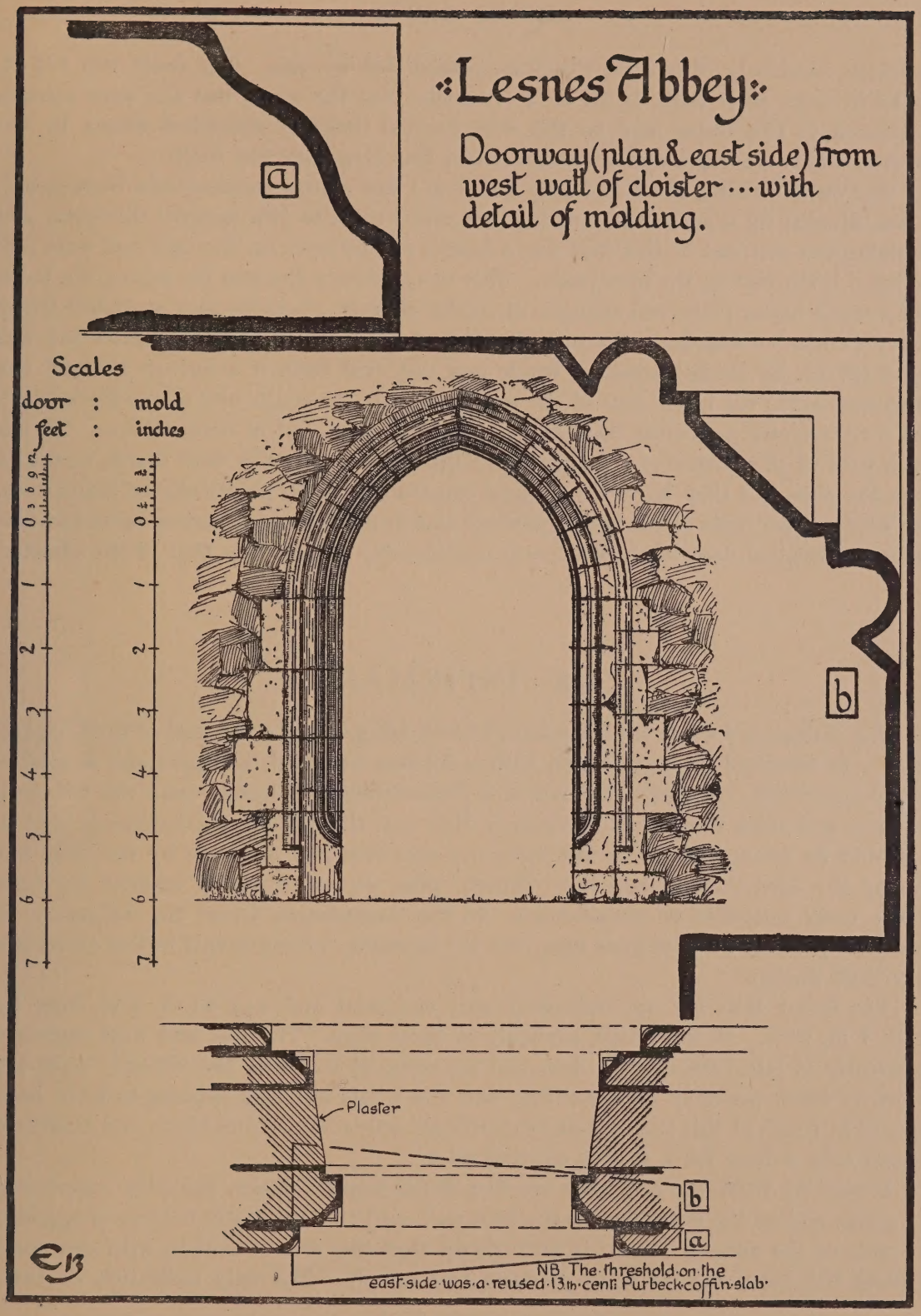

Lesnes Abbey:
Doorway (plan & east side) from west wall of cloister ... with detail of molding.
a
Scales
door : mold
feet : inches
b
Plaster
b
a
E13
NB. The threshold on the east side was a reused 13th cent. Purbeck coffin-slab.

FIG. 7

buildings, obviously of late construction, placed side by side. The inner was 19½ ft. by 13 ft. 8 in. with walls 1½ ft. to 2 ft. thick. On the north was the door already mentioned to the larder, and on the west the old doorway described above to the Cloister, which was apparently blocked when this structure was built.

The outer building (19 ft. 7 in. by 8 ft. 2 in.) was almost certainly the Brew-house. It was divided by a cross wall running east and west into two unequal divisions, and adjoining the east end of this wall was a hearth or kiln open on the east and west and having a brick pier on the north side. This was probably the kiln for drying the hops, and a much better preserved example of similar character is to be seen at Mount Grace Priory (Yorks.). Adjoining the opposite end of the cross wall a rectangular vat was found (27 in. by 19 in.), rendered inside and out, and from it a narrow channel ran northward along the inside face of the west wall. On the south wall of the Brew-house was a rectangular projection resembling a large fireplace, but of doubtful use. To the south-west of the Brew-house a number of thin courtyard walls were found, as shown upon the plan, but they were of very poor construction, with practically no foundation. The whole of the walls of the three buildings last described were standing some two feet above the original floor level, which was considerably higher than that of the Cloister.

THE INFIRMARY

The Infirmary formed a self-contained block lying to the north-east of the Chapter-house. It consisted of a great hall with a kitchen attached, a chapel and a smaller hall or misericord. At Lesnes the common Benedictine or ' Church ' plan was followed, the nave and aisles forming the Infirmary Hall and the chancel the Infirmary Chapel. It should be remembered that the Infirmary was tenanted not only by the sick, but also by the aged Canons, and the ' Church ' plan was subsequently adopted by most of the early hospitals or alms-houses. In the Augustinian Order the Infirmary at Maxstoke presents an analogous case, but the Infirmary arrangements in this Order are very little known.

The Great Hall lay approximately east and west and was 53 ft. 6 in. long by 37 ft. 7 in. wide. It was aisled, probably in three bays. The east and west walls are apparently of late 12th century date and are some 2¼ ft. thick, but the side walls are evidently later, probably 15th century, and the whole building appears to have been reduced in width at this time. The side walls are only about a foot thick, and evidently formed only a base for a timber superstructure.

Projecting from the east wall are two rough respond bases, probably supporting oak posts, and on the outer face of the west wall are two flat pilaster buttresses opposite the ends of the arcade. There is little doubt that this was of timber, with oak posts dividing the bays, but no trace of them was found. The only indication of their

THE "CONDUIT POND."

OLD WELL, SOUTH OF PRECINCT.

position is the occurrence of a square stone template on the south wall, evidently the base of a timber upright in the side wall. The distance between it and the west wall is roughly a third of the whole length, giving a division of three bays to the Hall. Only the eastern portion of the north wall was found, the western part having been destroyed. Both east and west walls were roughly cut away on this side, indicating that they formerly extended further. In later mediaeval times it was the common custom to divide up the aisles of the Infirmary Hall into separate apartments, but no trace of cross walls could be found at Lesnes, and the divisions here were probably of wainscot.

To the south of the first bay of the Hall was a small apartment, 17½ ft. by 10¾ ft. In the south wall was a large fireplace 5½ ft. wide with projecting chamfered jambs of Reigate stone, a tiled hearth and portions of a stone curb. Outside the east wall at the south end was a quadrant-shaped projection with an external chamfered stone plinth, of which one stone only remained in position. It apparently enclosed a small oven with a brick bed and sides of polygonal form. The south wall of this apartment formerly continued on in a straight line eastward, but the wall was destroyed about 10 ft. from the oven.

The Infirmary Chapel projected two bays to the east of the centre aisle of the hall. It was apparently a mid or late 13th century building, 28 ft. long by 19½ ft. wide. The walls were standing some 4 ft. above the floor level and were in an excellent state of preservation. They were 2 ft. 10 in. thick, plastered internally, and supported by rectangular buttresses of deep projection, two at each angle and one between the bays. The buttresses were faced with knapped flints and had ashlar quoins. Against the east wall the base of the altar was found, but none of the pavement was *in situ*. The base of the east wall of the Infirmary Hall was continued across the entrance to the Chapel with a curious rectangular projection in the centre on the Chapel side.

THE MISERICORD

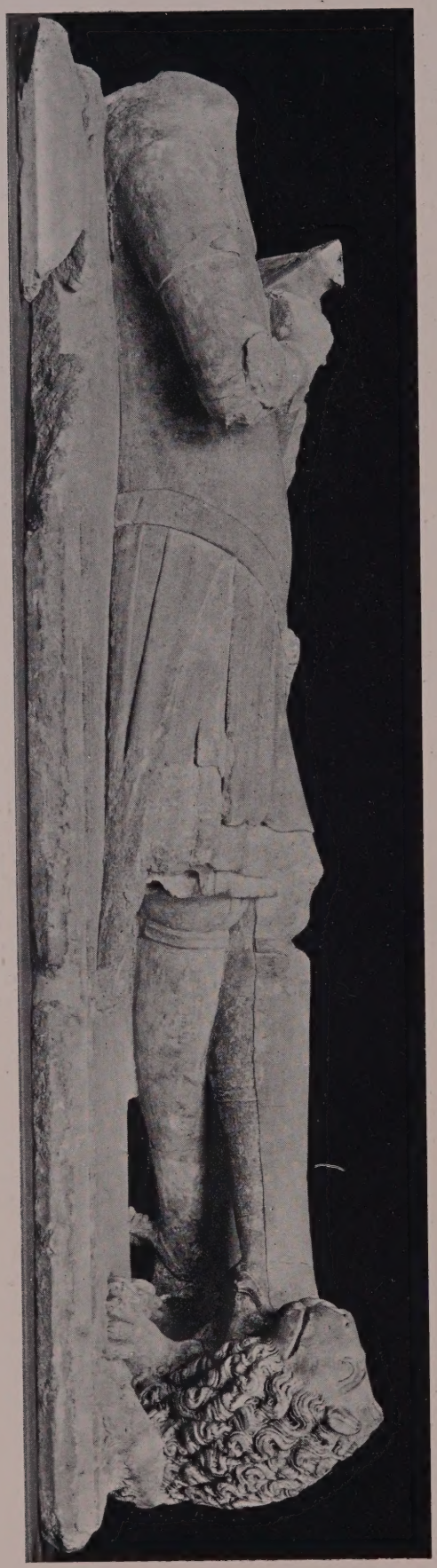
The Misericord adjoined the west wall of the Infirmary Hall, and measured 40 ft. from north to south by 16½ ft. wide. It was a small hall used by those Canons to whom an improved diet was permitted. At Lesnes it appears to have been a late 13th century building curtailed at the north end in the 15th century when the Infirmary Hall was reduced in size. Towards the south end of the west wall one jamb of the doorway was found and this entrance appears to have been covered by a screen across the end 11 ft. in advance of the south wall. The wall carrying it was discovered, but all the south wall except the east end had been destroyed. The entrance to the Infirmary Hall appears to have been north of this screen, where a gap in the wall seems to indicate a former doorway.

The whole Infirmary block was approached from the parlour by a covered passage, having apparently a solid wall on the north side and perhaps open on the south. Some 10 ft. of the western end of the north wall remain adjoining the parlour and a wall projecting 6 ft. from the misericord, immediately to the north of the doorway, represents its eastern termination. The latter is finished with a square end, probably indicating an opening.

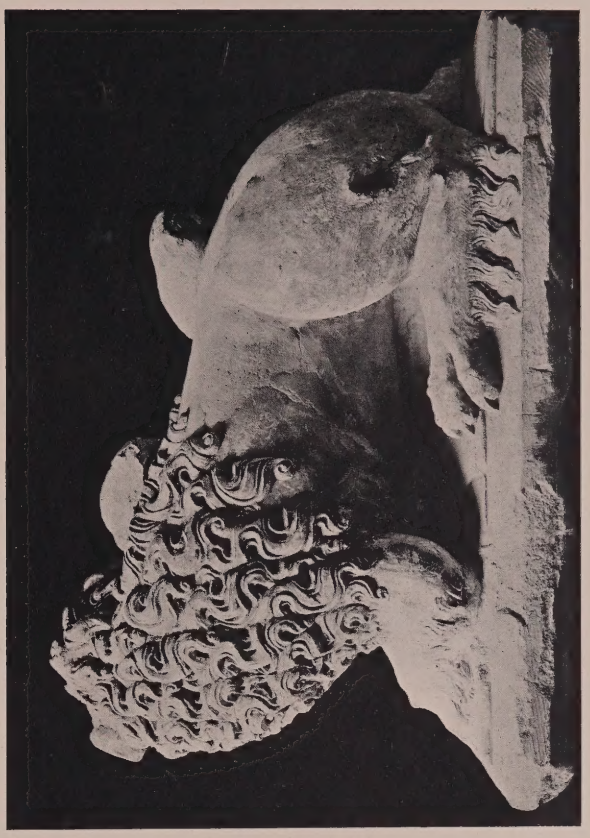
The gallery must have been of considerable width, and traces of the southern side were found adjoining the north-east buttress of the Chapter-house. A small fragment of rubble just to the south of the Misericord perhaps marks its termination at that end.

THE ABBOT'S LODGING

Though no definite proof is available, it is highly probable that the Abbot's Lodging occupied the site of the present farmhouse built in 1845 (see Plate II). Its predecessor was a highly picturesque stone and timber-framed structure, of which numerous prints and drawings are still extant. At the Dissolution some portion of the monastic buildings was transformed into a dwelling-house, for the early lay owners certainly resided here, and here one of the children of Sir Ralph Sadler was born. There is no doubt that this dwelling was identical with the structure pulled down in 1845, but it is now impossible to say how much of it was monastic. In style it belonged to the first half of the 16th century and consisted of a rectangular block running east and west, with two small gabled wings projecting to the north and a large wing containing the Great Hall projecting to the south. That part of this formed the Abbot's Lodging is indeed likely (it occupies the same relative position as the Abbot's house at Haughmond), but its extent is either indicative of considerable enlargement at the suppression or of the inclusion in the same block of some other department, possibly the Guest-house. The arrangement of the Great Hall is preserved on Stukeley's MS. plan (see Plate III) already mentioned, which indicates a spacious apartment with a large fireplace on the east side and a fine staircase projecting at the south-east end. Sketch lines connecting it with the Frater seem to imply (if this was the Abbot's Hall) that it was served from the great kitchen or from a smaller kitchen adjoining it. The rest of the house was of the ordinary 16th-century type, both the northern wings having stone walls to the ground floor and half timbering above. The main block adjoined the Dorter building on the east and had a three-light window at this end, which must in any case have been a post-suppression insertion. The modern farmhouse occupies the site of this block, the eastern of the two north bays being also reproduced. The site of the western wing or bay is marked by a square cellar below the ground level 13 ft. by 11 ft., and built of rag-stone rubble, evidently mediaeval, as there is no moulded or squared stone used in it, as



LUCY EFFIGY, TOP AND RIGHT SIDE.



LUCY EFFIGY, LEFT SIDE, AND TWO VIEWS OF LION AT FEET.

would certainly have been the case had the builders had the Abbey ruins to quarry from.

This is the last of the Abbey buildings about which anything definite can be said. The outbuildings of the present farm, many of them, with the garden and orchard walls, are of early 17th-century date and contain numerous moulded stones, fragments of shafts and other details dug up on the Abbey site, probably when Sir John Hippersley dug through the Church for building materials. On the Christ's Hospital plan a polygonal or circular dove-cote is shown a little to the north-east of the Dorter, but this has entirely disappeared.

THE WATER SUPPLY

The water supply, always an important part of the domestic economy of a mediaeval monastery, was evidently well provided for at Lesnes. Owing to the absence of any natural stream (of any size) in the immediate neighbourhood, it became necessary to store the rain or surface water in some sort of reservoir. The Abbey stands at the foot of a small gulley in the hill-side, worn by the action of a stream running in winter only; and high up this gulley, about a quarter of a mile or more above the Convent, an earthen dam was built across, forming a small triangular reservoir or pond (see Plate XVIII). This still remains, and is shown on the Christ's Hospital plan as the 'Conduit Pond' (1). The dam was probably provided with sluice gates and the water conveyed to the Convent either through a built sewer or an open water-course. It is unfortunate that no definite trace of this can be found, so that the eventual distribution of the water to the lower conduit and Rere-dorter remains unexplained. A short distance south of the Abbey, and between it and the Conduit Pond, is a large circular well with stone steining, probably of mediaeval date (see Plate XVIII).

(1) In 1471, in the Abbot's court, one Robert Dove was fined 2*d*. for 'le schakyng de Chestayntreys at Condytpond.' P.R.O. 'State Papers,' Hen. VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537.

Note on the Sunk Chamber in the Lady Chapel. In the eastern chapel, projecting from the apse of the crypt of the Abbey Church of St. Augustine, Canterbury, is a somewhat similar chamber separated from the rest of the chapel by a low wall, pierced by a doorway at the north end and having the altar in front of it towards the west.

PART III.—OBJECTS FOUND IN THE EXCAVATIONS

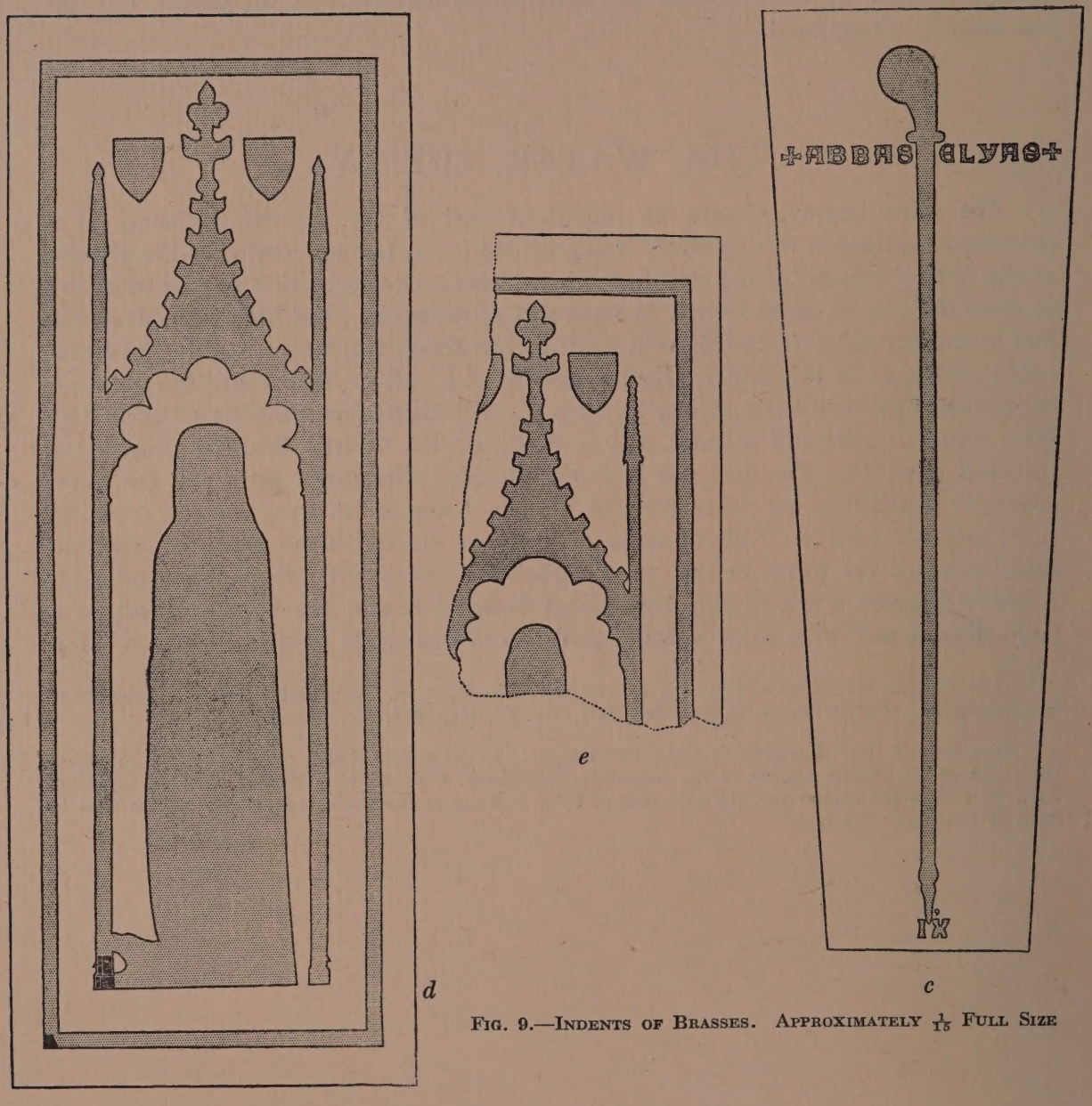
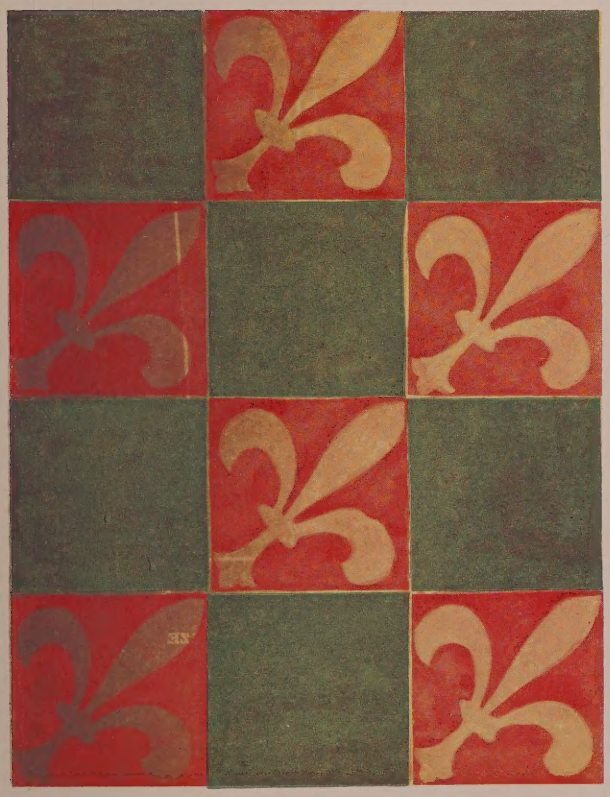


FIG. 9.—INDENTS OF BRASSES. APPROXIMATELY $\frac{1}{15}$ FULL SIZE



PAVING TILES, FOUND ON THE SITE.

It has been thought more convenient to describe together all the objects discovered in the course of the excavations except such as were found *in situ*. These objects may be grouped under five heads, (i) Sepulchral monuments, (ii) Paving tiles, (iii) Glass, (iv) Architectural fragments, (v) Miscellaneous.

(i) SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS.—Of these one effigy was discovered, with a small portion of a second, three slabs with indents of brasses, and six coffin slabs. These will be described in order.

(*a*) A recumbent effigy in Reigate stone on a slab with moulded edges of the same material, found thrown face downwards into a vault in the Lady Chapel. The figure (which has lost its head) is in mixed mail and plate armour of *c.* 1320, and represents a member of the Lucy family. It was richly coloured and gilt, and much of this colouring remains. The cyclas bears the three luces or on a field gules of Lucy, and the same charge is repeated on the somewhat broken shield. The feet rest on a lion, the details of the spur buckles being excellently rendered. The mail is represented by plaster gesso laid on the stone and gilt; much of it remains, and in this particular the effigy is almost unique, as elsewhere this delicate material has not withstood the wear of five or six centuries. Beneath the hauberk is an undergarment of bright blue. The sculpture is of a very high order, the lines being marked by simplicity and grace (see Frontispiece and Plates XIX and XX).

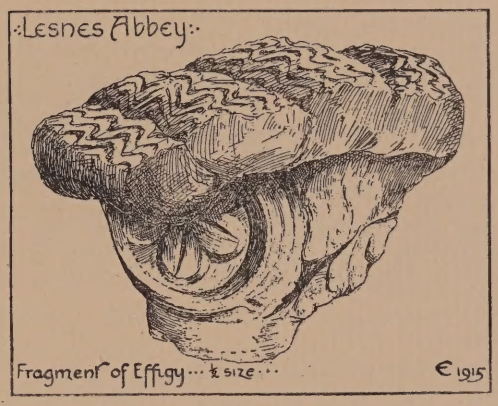


Fig. 8.—Fragment of an Effigy

This effigy has been purchased for the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, where it is now permanently on view.

Fig. 8. (*b*) A small fragment of a second effigy, being the pommel of a sword hilt grasped by mailed fingers. It is of about the same date.

Fig. 9. (*c*) Slab with indent of a brass, found beside the north-west tower pier in two fragments. It bore a long crosier down the centre, with the inscription across the slab in separate Lombardic letters ABBAS ELYAS. At the foot of the crosier is the numeral IX, indicating the position of Elyas in the Abbatial succession. It dates from *c.* 1300.

(*d*) Slab with indent of brass of lady under a single ogee feathered canopy with side pinnacles, foot and marginal inscriptions and two coats of arms; found in the Lady Chapel, date late 14th century. A fragment of the brass strip of the marginal inscription remained in one angle together with the base of the right hand shaft of the canopy.

(*e*) Upper portion of a marble slab, with indent of a brass of a lady very similar to

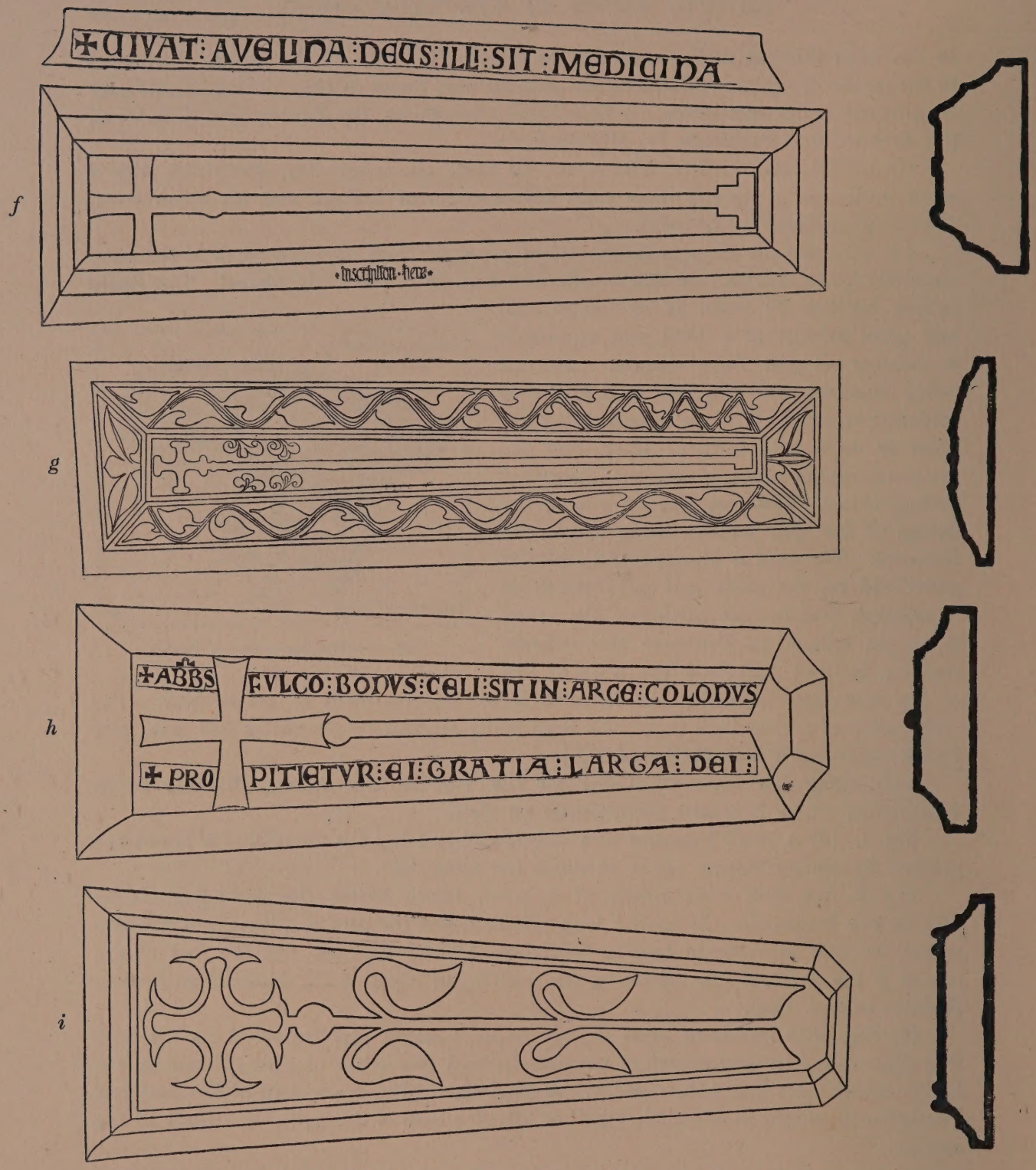


FIG. 10.—COFFIN LIDS FROM CHAPTER HOUSE. APPROXIMATELY $\frac{1}{15}$ FULL SIZE

the last; single arched feathered canopy with side pinnacles, marginal inscription and two coats of arms, found in the outer Chapel of the south transept, date about 1420.

Fig. 10. (*f*) Coffin slab of Purbeck marble, found at the east end of the Chapter-house. The edges have a bold double hollow chamfer, and the top is panelled with a much damaged cross standing on a two-stepped Calvary. On the upper hollow on the south side was an incised inscription in Lombardic characters reading, '+ UIVAT : AVELINA : DEUS : ILLI : SIT : MEDICINA.' The lady referred to was probably Avelina, daughter of Richard de Lucy, and wife of Gilbert de Montfichet. The slab dates from *c.* 1200.

(*g*) Coffin slab of Purbeck marble found near (*f*). The edges are hollow chamfered and the top is coped with panelled sides having a running ornament of water leaves; similar ornament occurs at each end. In a narrow sunk panel forming the ridge is a cross in relief, much damaged, with foliated stem. No inscription; date about 1220.

(*h*) Coffin slab of Purbeck marble, found near the middle of the Chapter-house. The edges are double hollow chamfered and on the top is a cross in relief, the head being of 'formy' type and standing on a low sloped Calvary. On either side the cross is a line of inscription in Lombardic characters reading: + ABB̄S̄ : FVLCO : BONVS : CELI : SIT : IN : ARCE : COLONVS + PROPITIETVR : EI : GRATIA : LARGA : DEI.

Fulc was the second Abbot of Lesnes and probably died *c.* 1200.

(*i*) Coffin slab of Purbeck marble, found near (*h*). The edges are hollow chamfered and on the top is a cross in relief, of foliated form, standing on a semi-circular Calvary. The stem has conventional leaves of irregular and curious form. No inscription, date about 1210.

(*j*) Upper half of slab, found in the presbytery, with incised floriated cross; 13th century (Fig. 11).

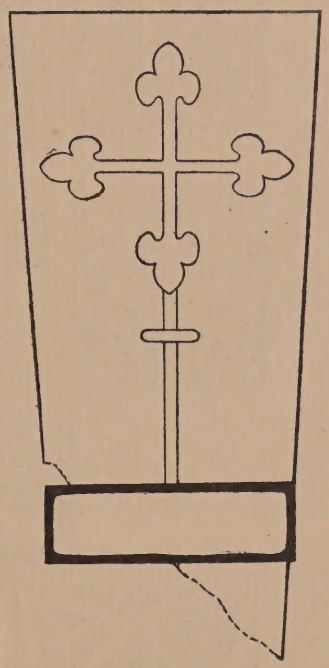


Fig. 11.—Portion of a Coffin Lid found in the Presbytery

The threshold of the doorway in the west Cloister wall and the sill of the serving hatch in the Frater, which are 13th century coffin slabs re-used, and a coffin slab of Purbeck marble found *in situ* in the Chapter-house and already described (p. 51), are not figured. All the illustrations of the slabs are approximately $\frac{1}{15}$ the full size.

(ii) PAVING TILES.—In the course of the excavations considerable quantities of paving tiles were discovered, but very few of them were *in situ*. A small portion of the presbytery pavement was found between the stone coffin already mentioned and the

wall. Patches of paving were also found in the Lady Chapel (including the floor of the sunk chamber), round the base of the south-west pier, in the doorway between the north transept and the Cloister, in the N.W. angle of the Cloister itself, and in one

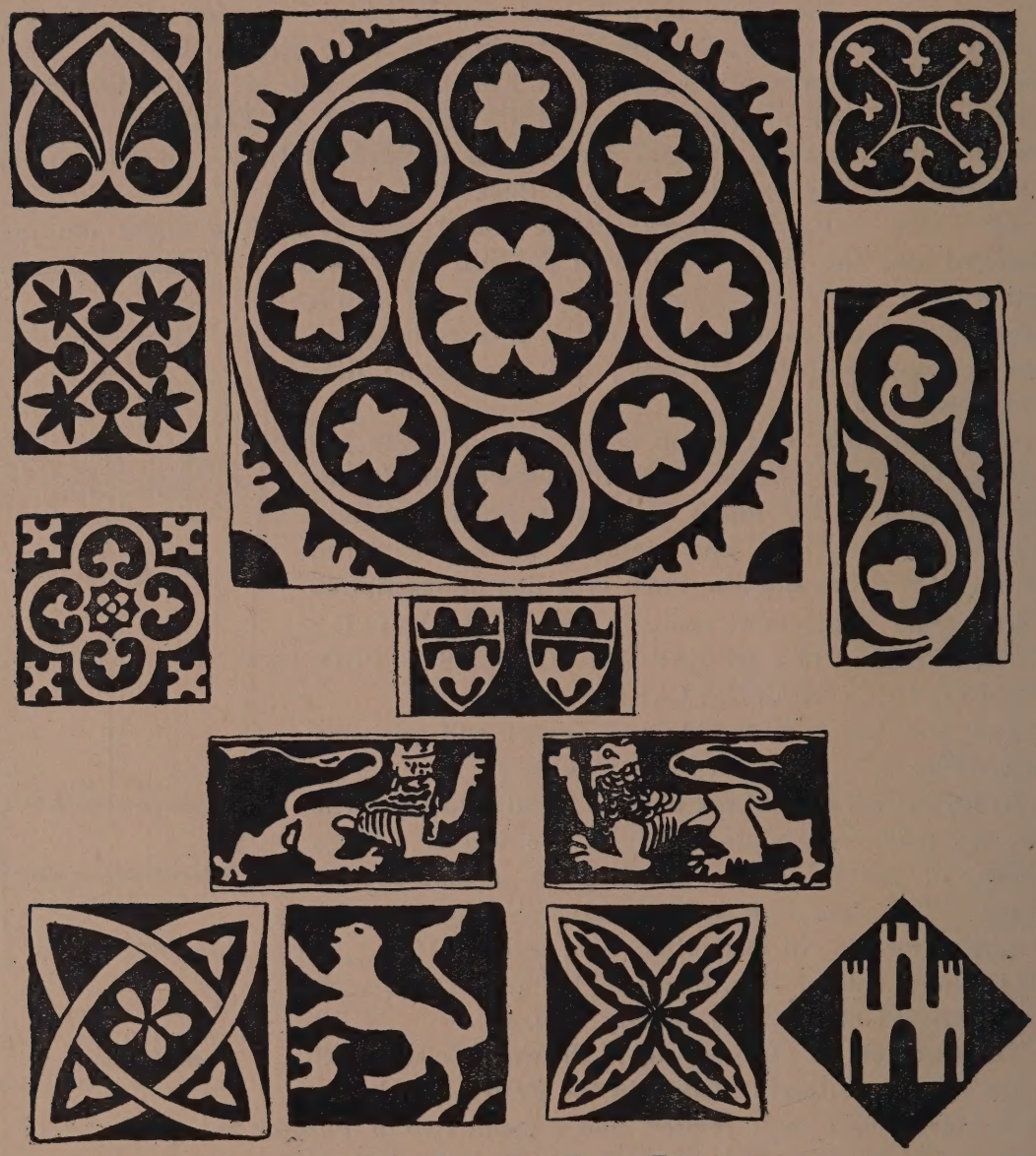


Fig. 12.—Diagram of Paving Tiles

of the north transeptal chapels. All these patches were laid with little or no reference to pattern, except that in the transeptal chapel, which had fleurs de lis alternating with plain glazed tiles. All the examples found were probably of the 13th or two

To face page 66.

PAVING TILES, FOUND ON THE SITE

succeeding centuries, except perhaps a number of large and plain square tiles found in the Chapter-house which may have formed part of the original paving.

Two fragments of tiles of the 'Chertsey' type were found, bearing the figures of an archbishop and a mounted knight. The vast majority, however, bore geometrical patterns of no great distinction.

Very few were of heraldic character, but of this class the following examples occurred: chequy, perhaps for Warrenne; vairy; fleur de lis; a lion passant; a fesse

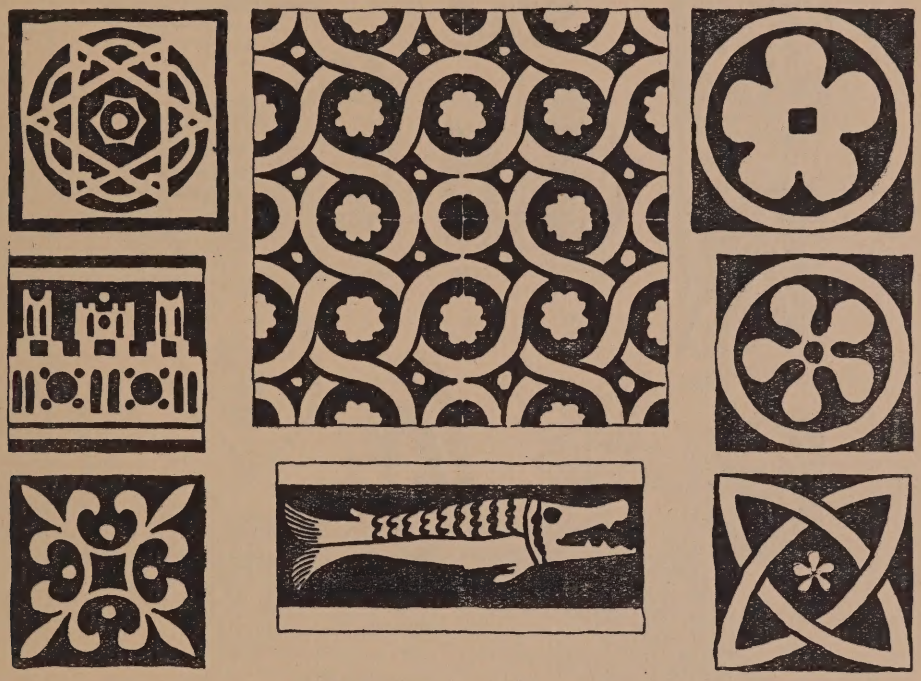


Fig. 18.—Diagram of Paving Tiles

between two chevrons for Fitzwalter; a pike for Lucy and forming a border tile; a castle of the ordinary 'Castile' type; a leopard.

The illustrations (see Plates XXI—XXIII and Figs. 12 and 13) are sufficiently descriptive of the best of the geometrical designs found.

(iii) GLASS.—In uncovering the east end of the Lady Chapel a large quantity of broken glass was found, probably from the destroyed east window of that building. The majority of it was of 14th century date, and though much decayed many fragments were still transparent. The largest bore a fine bearded face, another a small head, and the rest were fragments of foliage, tabernacle work, inscriptions or plain blue, ruby or yellow (Figs. 14, 15, 16).

(iv.) ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS.—But few of these can be assigned definitely to any particular part of the structure. In the presbytery were found

numerous voussoirs of 13th century vaulting ribs, deeply moulded and with two rows of bold dog toothing. The moulded ribs of the Lady Chapel vault were also found and with them numerous fragments of 14th century door jambs, arch moulds and window jambs, all well moulded. In the Chapter-house three capitals of vaulting

Fig. 14.—Fragments of Stained Glass

shafts were uncovered of late 12th century date. They were of bell form with simple foliations, differing slightly in each, and square abaci (see Plate XXIV). They are now at South Kensington. Portions of shafting fitting them were also discovered. Other fragments found were the square scalloped capitals (Fig. 17) assigned to the nave arcade (p. 48), numerous lengths of small Purbeck marble shafting with a

FIG. 15.—FRAGMENTS OF STAINED GLASS

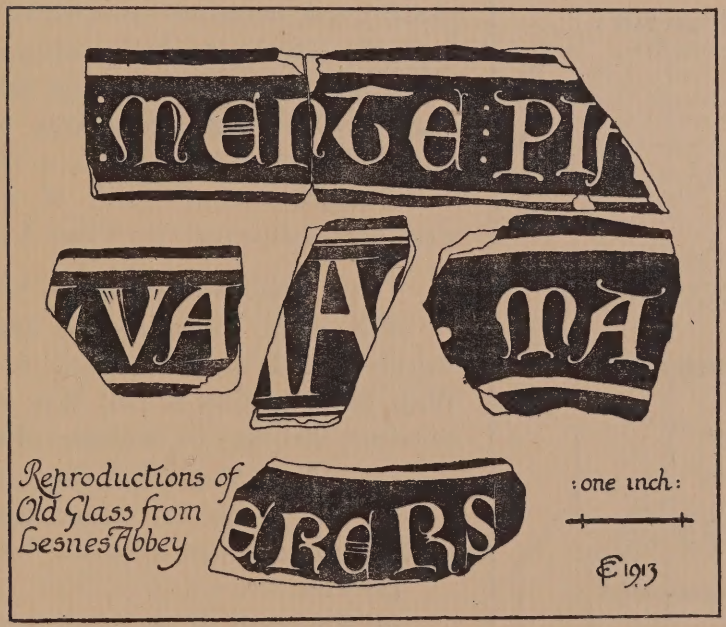


FIG. 16.—FRAGMENTS OF STAINED GLASS

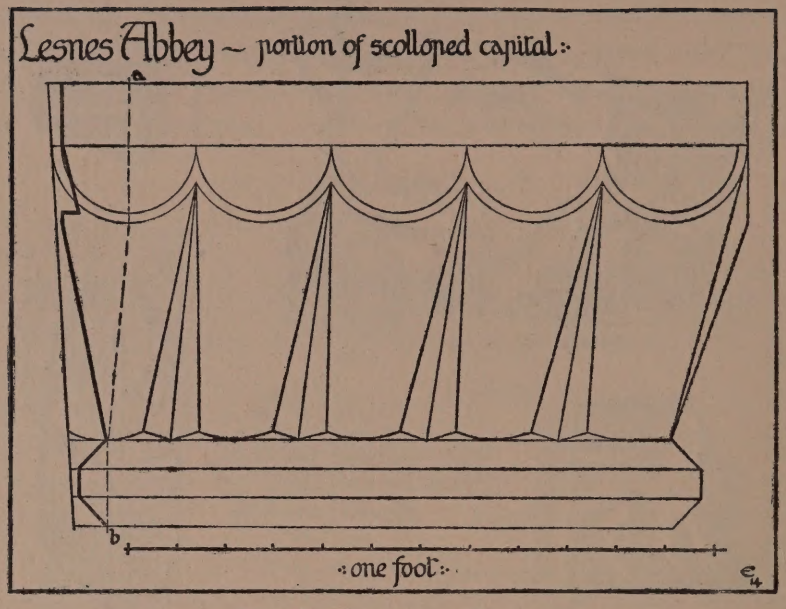


FIG. 17.—SCOLLOPED CAPITAL

scolloped capital and moulded base to match (Fig. 18), a coupled base and capital of the same material connected by a moulded rail, early 14th century (found in the Infirmary, but possibly belonging to the Cloister arcade), and numerous moulded stones of all dates from the 12th to the 14th centuries.

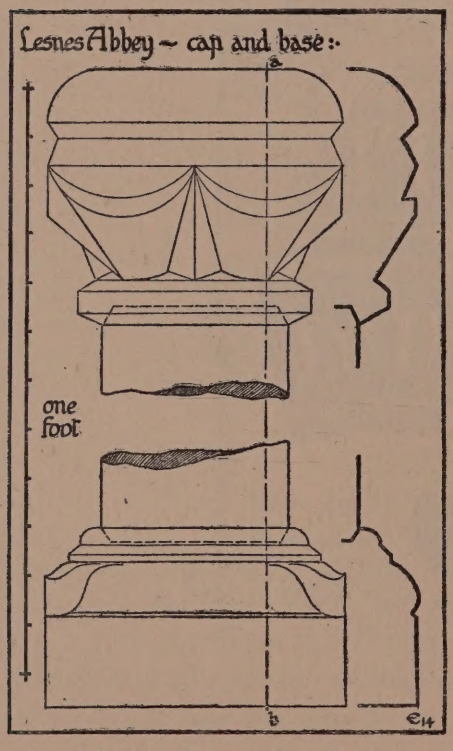


FIG. 18.—CAPITAL AND BASE

Built into the wall between the north transept chapels were several fragments of delicate 14th century panelled work from a reredos or tomb, and remains of later work of similar character were also uncovered (see Plate XXV).

(v) MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

The more important of the miscellaneous objects found are illustrated in Plate XXVI. With the exception of (16) they are all of bronze or latton, and may be enumerated as follows :—

(1) and (2) Two small circular candlesticks.

(3) The letter M, either from a memorial brass or the cover of a book.

(4) Pin.

(5) Fragment of ornament formerly gilt.

(6) and (12) Fragments.

(7) Embossed metal ornament probably from door of a cabinet.

PAVING TILES, FOUND ON THE SITE.

(8) (9) and (10) Rings for hangings.

(11) Buckle.

(13) Hasp of a book.

(14) Turned handle resembling that of a mirror.

(15) Boss and ring from cover of a lamp.

(16) Square object of Reigate stone with a shallow sinking in the top. It was possibly a small cresset, but its use is quite uncertain, and in general form it resembles a small portable Roman altar. The adjoining drawing (Fig. 19) shows the section.

The other objects not illustrated include a small piece of rock crystal, a brass bell, probably from a dog-collar, and a few Nuremberg tokens. The iron objects include a crowbar, soldering-iron, keys, spurs, and fragments of other implements.

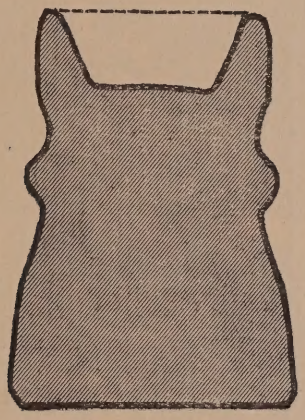
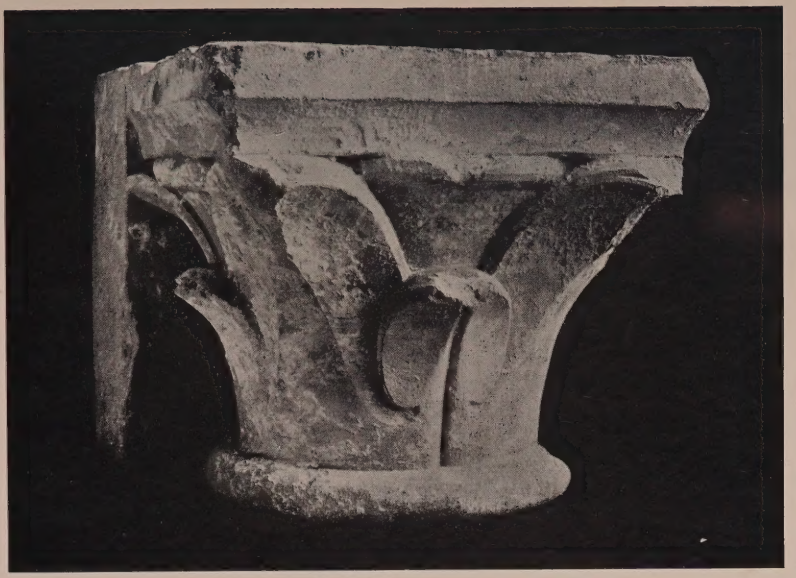


FIG. 19.—SECTION OF STONE OBJECT

Cassio — "Gentlemen,
let's look to our
business."
Othello Act II Scene
THE
CASSIO PRESS,
5, Lamb's Conduit Street
LONDON, W.C.
Telephone No. Holborn 3735
Watford 335.



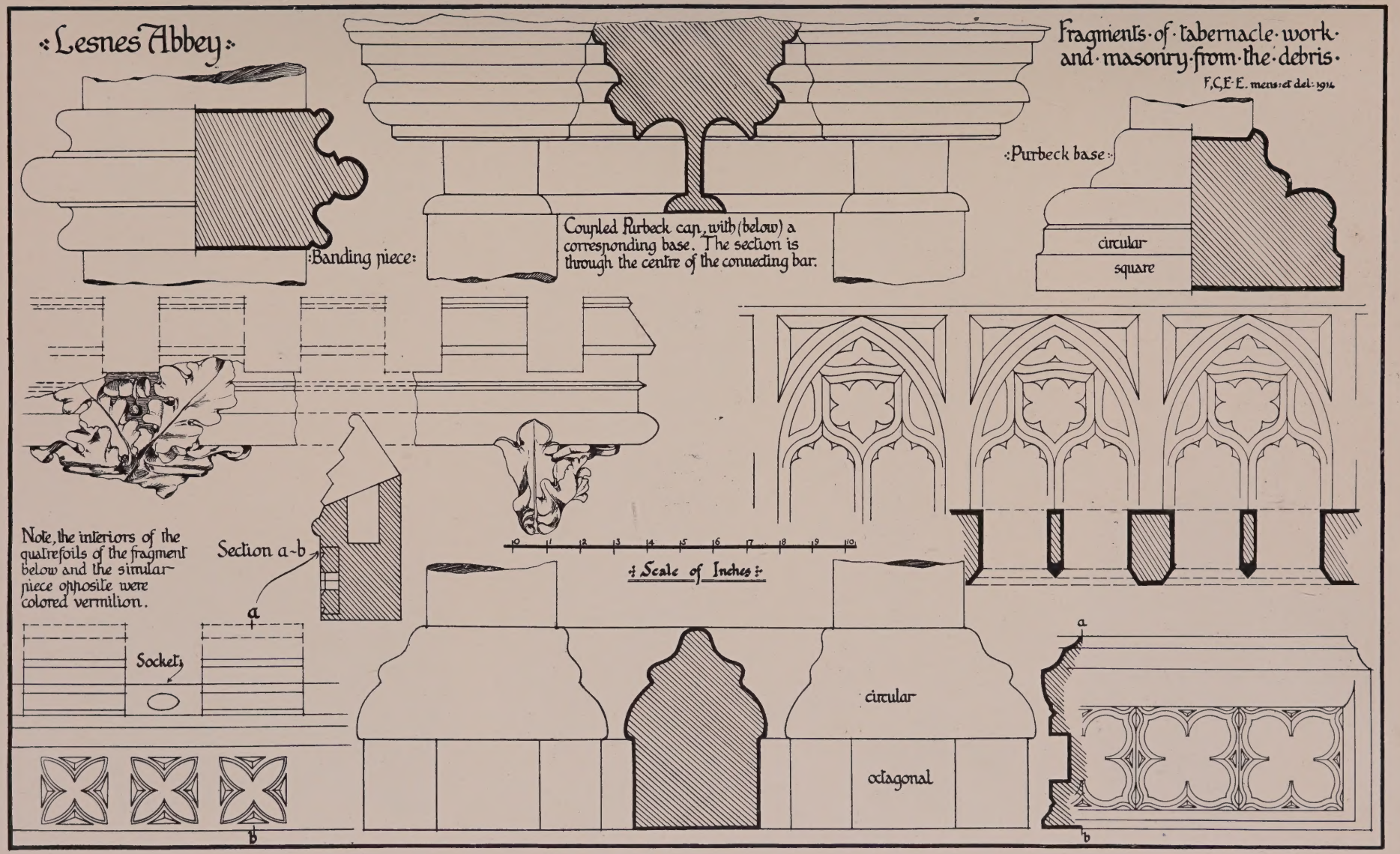
A. CAPITAL FROM CHAPTER HOUSE.

B. CAPITAL FROM CHAPTER HOUSE.

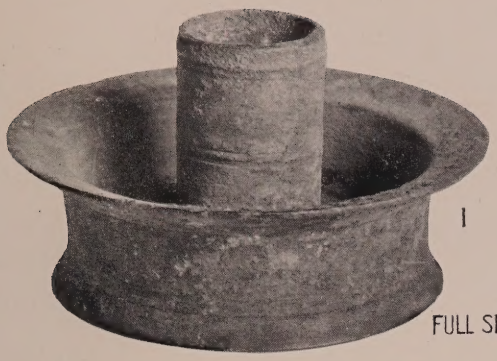
C. CAPITAL FROM CHAPTER HOUSE.

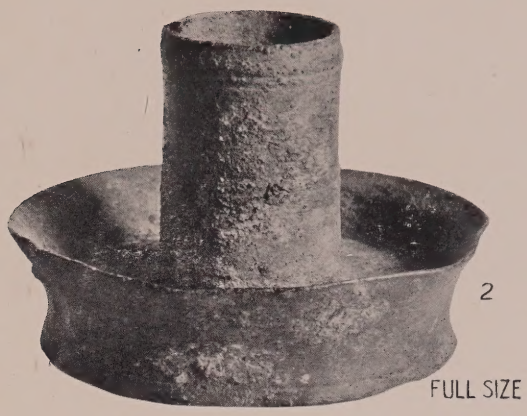
D. CAPITAL, PROBABLY FROM CLOISTER.

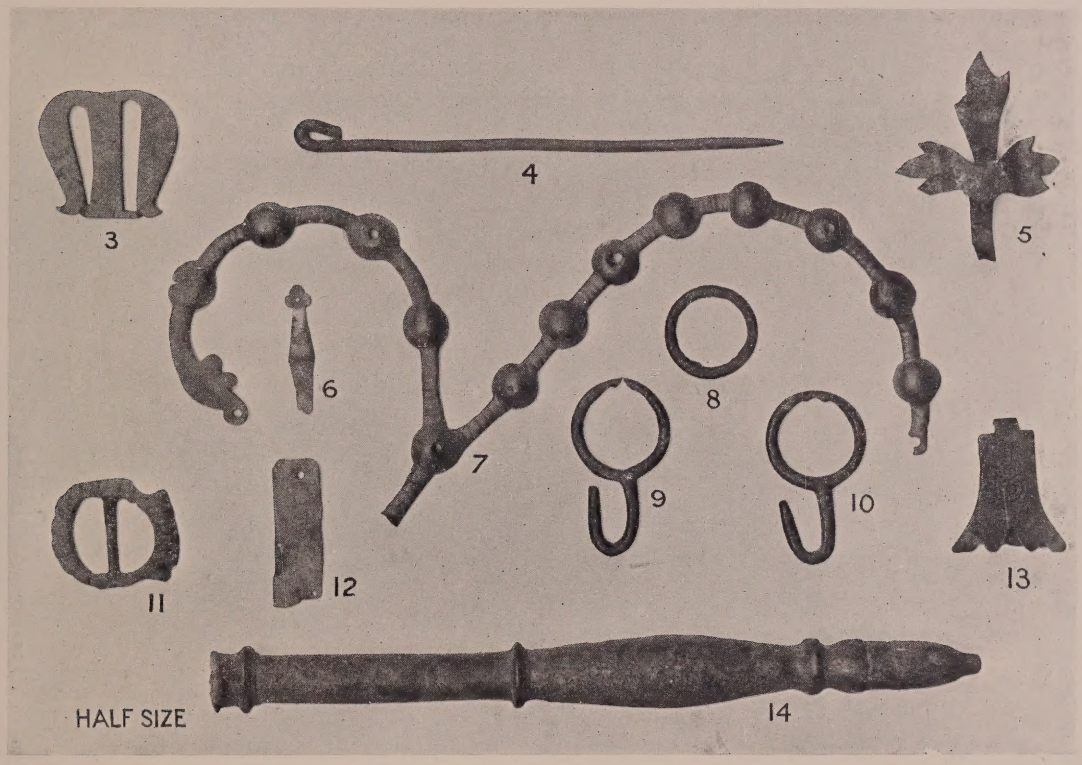
To face page 72.

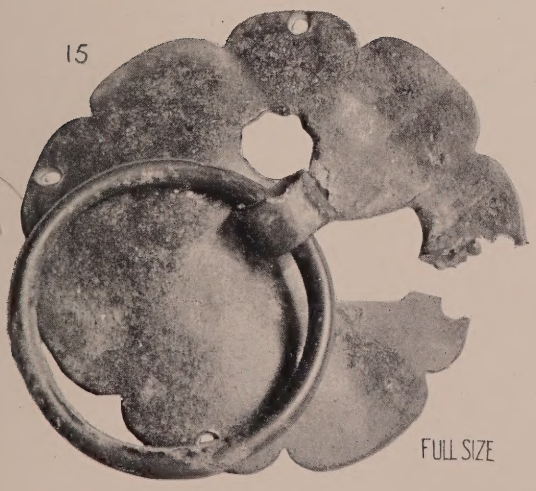


ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS.





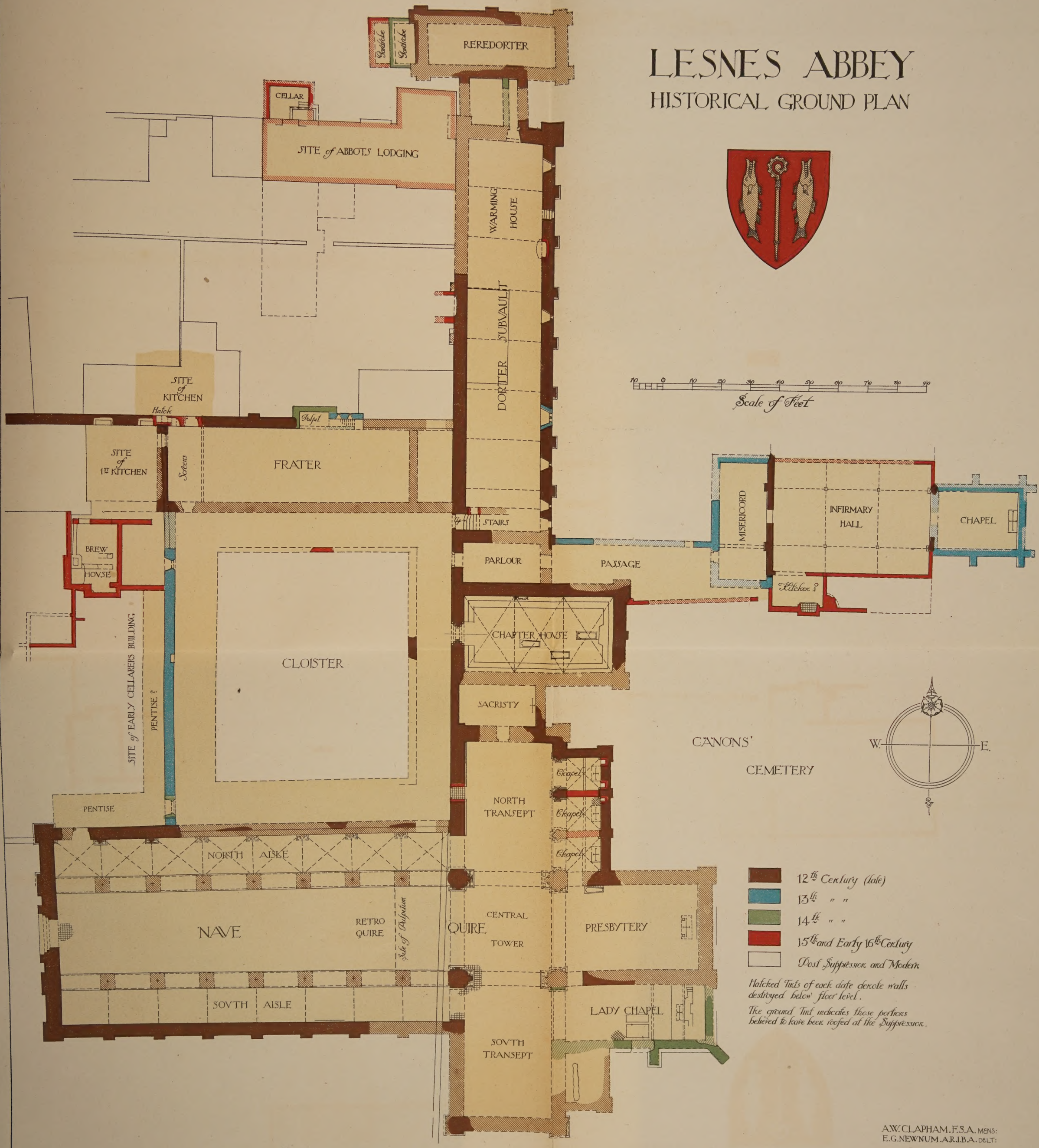




MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

LESNES ABBEY

HISTORICAL GROUND PLAN



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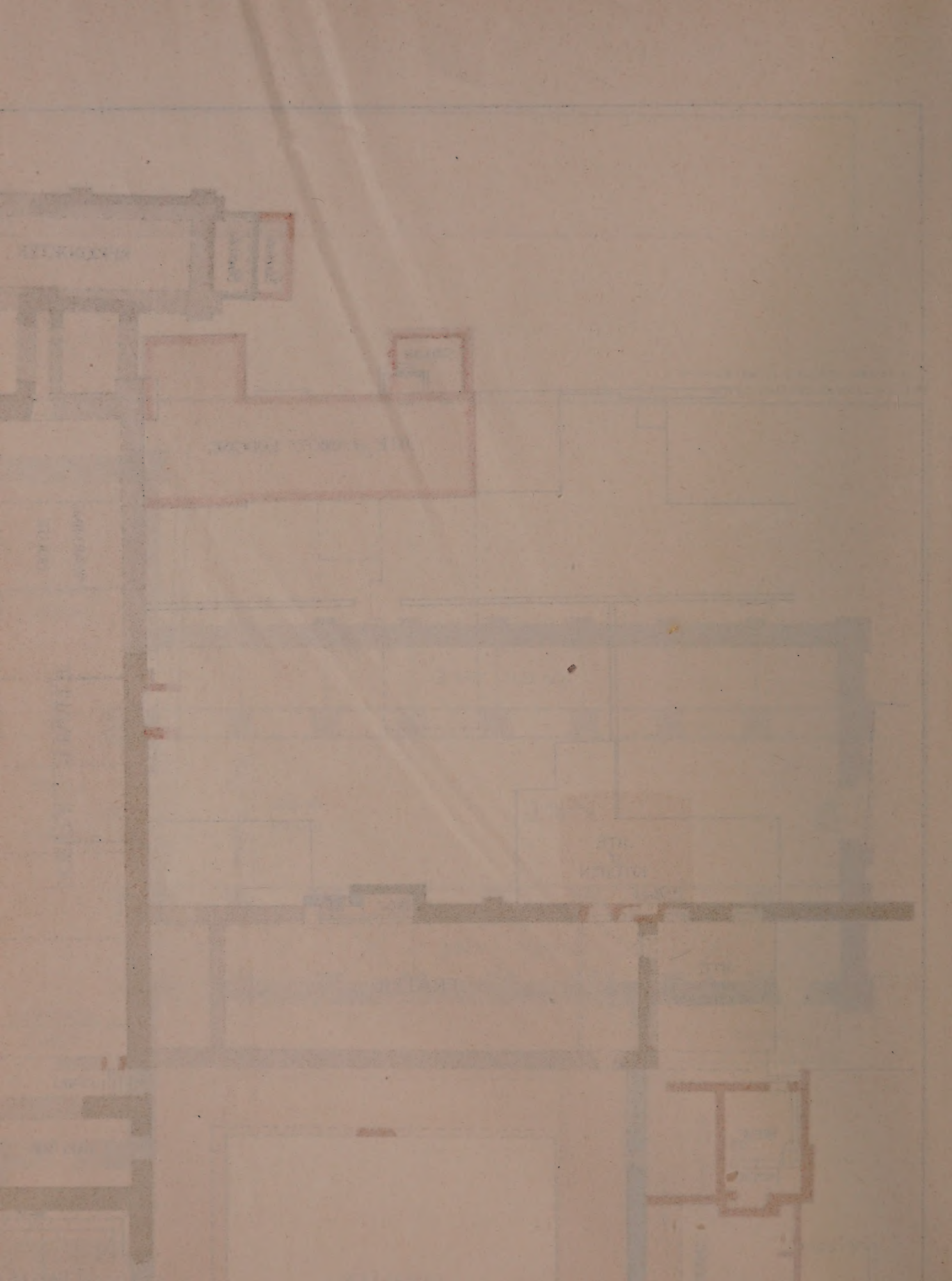


APPENDIX A

LIST OF THE ABBOTS OF LESNES

1. William, occurs in *c.* 1183 Thorpe 'Registrum Roffense,' p. 318, and 1185, 'Placitorum Abbreviato,' Rolls Edition, p. 98.
2. Fulc, occurs in 1197 'Pedes Finum,' 9th Richard I, No. 138, and Thorpe *op. cit.*, p. 641.
3. Mark, occurs in 1220 'Feet of Fines,' Essex Arch. Soc., p. 55.
4. William, occurs in *c.* 1230 Brit. Mus. 'Campbell Charters,' XIV, 23.
5. Hugh, occurs in 1235 'Feet of Fines,' Essex Arch. Soc., and 1237 Kent 'Fines,' case 96, file 23, No. 357.
6. Alan, occurs in 1248 'Feet of Fines,' Essex Arch. Soc., p. 174.
7. Richard, occurs in 1267, Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 321.
8. Robert, occurs in 1279, Kent 'Fines,' case 98, file 59, No. 87.
9. Elyas, occurs in 1287, Rye, 'Feet of Suffolk Fines,' p. 89, No. 28.

Thomas de Sandwich, occurs in 1314, Cotton MS. Nero E. **VI**, fo. 202.

Adam de Halifeld, died 1321, Reg. Hamo de Hythe, fo. 79.

Roger de Dartford, 1321, Ibid, and Wharton, 'Anglia Sacra,' Pt. I, p. 362; 1327, Reg. Hamo, fo. 49.

John de Hoddesdon, 1327, Ibid; 1341, Wharton, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 364.

T . . . ., occurs in 1344, Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

Robert de Clyve, 1344, Cal. Pat. Rolls; 1346, Reg. Hamo, fo. 226b.

Richard de Gayton, 1346, Ibid; 1362, Epis. Reg. Dio. Rochester, Vol. I, fo. 309b.

William de Hethe, 1362, Ibid, and in 1364, P.R.O. 'Ministers' Accounts,' G.S., B. 1108, No. 7.

John Haunsard, occurs in 1378, P.R.O. 'Ancient Deeds,' Vol. V, A. 7372; d. 1386, Cal. Pat. Rolls.

Henry Heliere or Holcote, 1386, Ibid; 1403, Ibid.

William Sampson, 1403, P.R.O. 'Rentals and Surveys,' G.S., Part IX, No. 37; 1405, Lambeth Pal. 'Reg. Arundel,' fos. 134a and 467b.

John Brokhole, 1405, Ibid; 1423, Epis. Reg. Dio. Rochester, Vol. III, fo. 54b.

John Elmdon, 1423, Ibid; 1426, Ibid, fo. 75.

Thomas Plympton, 1426, Ibid, and in 1431, P.R.O. 'Min. Accounts,' G.S., B. 1108, No. 11.

Adam Say, died 1460, P.R.O. 'Rentals and Surveys,' G.S., Roll 357.

John Colman, 1460, Ibid; 1474, Ibid, Part IX, No. 38.

William, occurs in 1474, Cal. Pat. Rolls.

THOMAS BENET, occurs in 1483, Ibid, and S.P. Henry VIII, Vol. IV. 3537.

WILLIAM BRIGHT, occurs in 1496, Lambeth Pal. Reg. Morton, fo. 161a, and 1500, P.R.O. MS. Cal. of Pat. Rolls, Henry VII.

ROBERT MARTYN, 1502, Reg. Fitzjames, fo. 32b; 1502, Ibid, fo. 33b.

HENRY BLAKEMORE, 1502, Ibid; 1514, Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 331 *et. seq.*

WILLIAM TYSEHURST, 1514, Ibid; 1525, Ibid, p. 342.

PRIORS OF LESNES

JOHN DE ST. EDMUND*	became Prior of Bicknacre 1269
RICHARD DE GAYTON	became Abbot 1346
JOHN DE STRITHALE	occurs in 1362
HENRY HOLCOTE	became Abbot 1386
THOMAS BIBLE	occurs in 1513

SUB-PRIORS OF LESNES

JOHN DE DRITHFORD	occurs in 1346
WILLIAM DE HETHE(?)	became Abbot 1362
JOHN ELMDON	,, ,, 1423
GEORGE HOO	occurs in 1426
JOHN COLMAN	became Abbot 1460
JOHN COPE	occurs in 1496 and 1502
WILLIAM BAYSE†	occurs in 1508
ROBERT HALE	,, 1513

* British Museum, Harleian MS. No. 6958, p. 28.

† S.P., Henry VIII, Vol. IV, No. 3537. The authorities for the remainder of the names are the same as those referred to in the lists of Abbots.

APPENDIX B

THE ARROUAISIAN RULE

Extract from the 'Histoire de l'Abbaye et le l'ancienne Congrégation des Chamoines reguliers d'Arrouaise,' by M. Gosse, Lille, 1786, p. 59 et seq.

CHAPTER V

Constitutions

The care which Gervaise had bestowed on the foundation of his Order would have been expended wholly in vain if when a Church had desired to submit itself to him, or when he had established a new one, he had not laid it down as an essential condition that their affiliation was to be perpetual and irrevocable. The natural inconstancy of all men sometimes moved a religious body to embrace first one institution and then another, under the pretext that the last was better than the first. The General, to obviate this inconvenience as far as possible, requested the sovereign pontiff, Eugenius III, to confirm the Statute dealing with the point and already passed and accepted by the Congregation. Eugenius accorded his confirmation by a Bull dated at Vetralle, December 5, 1145.

The foundation of the Order was at last consummated, the general constitutions and usages approved and confirmed; the full list of these Statutes was drawn up and had been without doubt discussed and accepted in the general Chapters of the Order. It is now time to explain them more fully. I have said that the copy which I possess dates from the year 1477. It contains 239 chapters, but it is obvious from a clause which concludes the 202nd chapter that the first collection ended at this point. 'We have taken pains,' it says, 'that these things should be written down in order that the observance of our Rule should not suffer any relaxation in time to come either from forgetfulness or negligence.' The thirty-seven chapters which follow have been added to the 202 which precede them in the same order as the Statutes they contain were passed. This manuscript may be regarded as including almost all the Constitutions of the Order. I will give a summary of the more remarkable chapters, deal shortly with many others, and relegate others to the margin as occasion may serve.

The first twenty-nine chapters regulate the hours of the divine office, of meals, sleep, and manual labour, the ritual of the quire, of the chapter, confession, cloister discipline, reading and study, and the celebrations of public and private Mass. The following chapters up to the 157th exclusively relate to the order of the divine office, both Mass and the canonical hours, with the rubrics proper to each feast. The Psalms were chanted by heart and this usage lasted down to the seventeenth century. To learn the Psalter by heart was one of the tasks of the first years of the religious life. The 136th chapter explains the usage of the cope and surplice. 'After Easter till the feast of All Saints, on Saturday at vespers, on Sundays

and on the feasts when we do no work, at two vespers and at high mass; at processions (except at those of rogations and of high litanies as well as at the obsequies of the dead, where no one should appear without a cope) the community should be vested in the surplice, unless from poverty or some other sound cause the Abbot or Prior order any one to wear the cope. After the feast of All Saints till Easter, again, no one should go to the church or in the convent without a cope, unless compelled by urgent necessity.'

By chapter 157 entitled 'Concerning the Regular Hours,' it is ordered that all the Canons, both lettered and unlettered, should assist in quire, except the infirm, who were to remain in the retro-quire. The Provost and the Cellarer might also absent themselves if necessary. If any one else employed in some necessary work is obliged to ask for frequent exemption, he should represent this necessity privately to his Abbot, who, if he should deem it desirable, shall declare him exempt, in chapter, from such and such 'hour.' The community ought to go into and depart from quire, in procession.

The 158th chapter deals with those places where all the Religious are not allowed to enter.

The 159th indicates the penalties of those who, living in the cells or priories, visit the Abbey without the permission of their Priors.

The 160th and 161st chapters contain the rubrics. Those Canons who were not priests, and the lay brethren, ought to communicate six times in the year (unless the Abbot judges it expedient to order some to do so more or less frequently), at Christmas, on the first Sunday in Lent, on Easter Day and Pentecost, on the Nativity of our Lady, and on All Saints' Day.

Then follow the rules touching the admission of lay brethren and sisters, with a prohibition to all the Religious of the Order to give security for any person whomsoever.

The 167th chapter describes the duties of the Prior. He should occupy the first stall on the left in quire; in chapter, in the cloister, at meals, and in the frater the first seat on the right. In the absence of the Abbot he takes the Abbot's place in chapter for the correction of faults. He represents the Abbot in all things save that he never takes his place in quire, cannot ordain Canons, declare them culpable of the more serious faults, nor give them absolution, etc. In the absence of the Prior the Sub-Prior takes his place, but he never changes his stall in the quire. The duties of the Sub-Prior form the matter of the 168th chapter.

The eight following chapters contain the duties of the Cantor, Sub-Cantor, the Master of the Novices, the examination of Clerks in the Novitiate, the duties of the Cellarer, the Provost of the Vestry, the Canon Hospitaller, the Steward; all these show how considerable was the number of the Religious, at any rate, in the Mother-house, and also how numerous were the guests received there.

The manual labour furnished all things necessary for clothing and food. The Cellarer had under him the bakers, vintners, brewers, gardeners and cooks. The furriers, tailors, boot-makers, tanners and fullers were under the control of the Provost of the Vestry. The Canon Hospitaller had under his government various hospices with a certain number of brethren. The duties of the Steward occupied him so fully that he was exempt from every office. He had to keep watch on everything outside the Monastery—on the Priories and Granges, on the live stock reared there, on the crops, in a word, on all that concerned the temporal well-being of the house. He had to leave in each cell sufficient for the maintenance of those who were sent there and to bring the surplus to the Abbey. All the goods whatsoever given by the founders or acquired in any other manner belonged without distinction to the Abbey as a whole. It is this point which is mentioned by Gautier in his Chartulary:— 'Although one finds in certain deeds,' writes this Abbot, 'that such and such a thing has

been given to this or that cell, it should be made clear that the Abbey of Arrouaise has none the less full rights of property. It admits of no doubt that in all the cells, granges, priories, churches or tythes which belong to us, be they communities of men or women who enjoy them, everything is and ought to be both now and for ever in submission according to the Institution of our house. For we have not, neither do we desire to have, any free and independent Priory. It is for the Abbot of Arrouaise to order all things in all our cells, with the individuals who occupy them and with the possessions which are annexed to them; the which should be consecrated to the needs of those who live in the Cloister. I have said so much expressly to the end that no one in time to come shall think to undermine this constitution.'

Amongst the duties of the Sacrist one should note that of making all the cloths necessary both for the Church, the Dorter and other places; of cooking the bread, of preparing the scissors and holy-water for the ceremony of the first tonsure and of burning the hair in that place in the Church set apart for the purpose.

The rubrics touching the office of the dead are contained in Chapter 177, which is a lengthy one. The great and little offices are there mentioned and the obligations contracted with various ecclesiastical bodies for reciprocal prayers. Although these bodies have been established at different times, I think that this is the place to make mention of all. The greater number no longer exist, but the following are those detailed in a cartulary of two centuries ago. These Churches, or ecclesiastical bodies, were the Chapter of St. Géri of Cambrai, the Abbeys of St. Nicholas au Bois in the Diocese of Laon, of St. Eloi, near Arras, of Samer in the diocese of Boulogne, of Wate, two leagues from St. Omer, of St. Martin at Ypres, of Wormezel, of St. Pierre of Los, of the ladies of Bourbourg, of the Holy Trinity in London, of St. Andrew of Cateau, of St. Mary of Soetendael, another of the same name, of St. Bartholomew of Noyon, of St. Barbara in Brabant, of All Saints in the isle, of the Diocese of Chalons, of St. Acheul near Amiens, of Marchiennes, of Mont St. Quentin, of St. Aubert of Cambrai, of St. Bertin at St. Omer, of Sagane in Silesia, of St. Mary at Breslau, of St. Peter in the Diocese of Magdebourg, of St. Mary of Hall, of St. Quentin of Beauvais, of Eaucourt, of Ham near Aire, of St. Martin of Epernai, the Order of Citeaux, the Order of Prémontré, and finally all the Arrouaisians of Ireland in general.

Then follow eleven chapters concerning the Infirmary, the administration of the last Sacraments and the burial of the dead. Here we find included amongst the most reasonable and wise rules certain customs which appear to us either reprehensible or bizarre. Everything relating to the needs of the infirm breathes humanity. After the sick person had confessed, extreme unction was administered before the holy viaticum, a most praiseworthy custom; but I think that it was imprudent to sing in the ears of the dying (as was done during this ceremony) the seven penitential Psalms.

When the sickness neared its final end, the sick man was placed on a sack on the ground. The bell was tolled with a particular note to call the Convent, and the prayers for those *in extremis* were recited. Immediately after the last breath, the body was washed and then raised and carried with ceremony into the retro-quire. This haste is the less surprising when one considers that it was then the custom to leave uncovered the face of the dead. The hour of burial was a fixed one—'If a brother dies before the hour of tierce and if it be summer, he shall be interred the same day between mass and sext; if he dies after tierce, he shall be kept till the morrow and then put in the earth after chapter. If it is winter and he dies before mass, he shall be buried the same day after sext on ordinary days and before sext on Sunday. If he dies after mass he shall not be interred until the next day at the same hour.'

The Infirmary was a separate building of considerable size. It had an Oratory where the divine office was chanted after the manner prescribed in Chapter 183. The charge of the Infirmarer was extensive. I will stop only at one curious article, which is that relating to those who had been blooded. 'It is for the Infirmarer,' says Chapter 184, 'to make ready and keep everything necessary for those who are to be blooded, as well the bandages as the basins.' The custom of blood-letting four or five times in the year was common to all the religious Orders. 'We rarely make use of medicines,' says the first editor of the Rule of Chartreuse, 'except the cautery and blood-letting. We are blooded five times a year, that is to say after the octave of Easter, after St. Peter's day, the second week in September, the week before Advent, and that before Quinquagesima; after all these occasions we make two meals on the three following days, and on the first day we assemble to confer together.'

In almost all communities of men or women certain meals and recreations have been preserved and are still called 'saignées,' but most people do not understand the reason, which proves that this curious custom has long since fallen into disuse. One will like doubtless to read here the four chapters which treat of it in the Arrouaisian Constitutions :—

'Chapter 185. How many times in the year one should be blooded.

'Generally the brethren should be blooded five times in the year—in the new moon of February, before Septuagesima or even at Septuagesima if the shortness of time makes it necessary, after the octaves of Easter and of Pentecost, after the harvest in September, and in November before the Advent of our Lord. At these seasons, everything necessary being prepared and the Convent notified by the Abbot or Prior, he who wishes to be blooded shall make himself ready. But it should be understood that no one should seek permission (without good cause) when the next day or the day after is a chief fast or a " nine lesson " feast.

'Chapter 186. At what hour the brethren should be blooded.

'In summer (that is to say from Easter to the Exaltation of the Holy Cross), after the Gospel of High Mass, both on days of study and work. The same in winter, on the days of study, but on work days they should be blooded immediately after chapter. That the Prior provides everything necessary. In summer when they should be blooded, they go to work before mass, but not in winter.

'Chapter 187. When and how they ought to eat.

'In summer, on the days of study, after they have been blooded, they take something to sustain them and take dinner with those who serve at table. If it is a work day, that the Prior take care to have them blooded early enough for them to dine before the community.

'Chapter 188. How they ought to say the hours.

'In winter and summer that they say the night and day hours in the Chapter-house and that they remain seated except at the moment when the brethren go to confess or to receive penance; in these cases it is permitted to them to sit in the Cloister while the brethren are away at work. After collation, when the Convent goes to Church, they remain in the Chapter-house and say compline, after the prayer is finished and having received holy-water, they retire to the dorter. That some one be provided to read the lessons for them at matins During high mass that they are to be in church in the retro-quire; that they remain in church at the low mass which is said for the dead. As long as they are outside the quire they ought neither to prostrate nor incline themselves at the *Gloria*, nor to stand up except at the *Magnificat*, *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Nunc Dimittis*, and the Gospel; and if they ought to sing or read in or out of church, or perform any other duty, that they make a sign to the others to do it for them. In Chapter at *Pretiosa*, when they come to confess their faults, that permission be not given to them to do so, but that they kneel down. It should be noted that when one part of the Religious have been blooded, no one ought to ask to be blooded before the first have

returned to quire, unless the shortness of time renders it necessary (as happens sometimes in February when Lent begins early) or for some other valid reason ; and in this case the others may be blooded on the third day. They return to quire, both in summer and winter, on the fourth day. Let them be ready even to work on the third day : the Prior shall provide lighter work for them, and if by accident it be a fast day on which it is permitted to take *mixtum*, let them take it after Chapter and let them eat with the Convent after Nones. It should be understood that while they are being blooded they may speak, if necessary, to the surgeon, but briefly. . . .'

I return to the book of the Order, Chapter 189. 'If a professed brother desires for any reason to leave his Convent and enter another his Abbot shall be unable to give him permission without the consent of the Chapter.'

Chapter 190. 'That no Canon of another Congregation, desiring to live in one of our Houses, shall be received unless he wishes to remain there permanently. That no Canon shall wear a white cope except for reasons of poverty, and never when he is abroad. That no Canon, whether a Clerk or not, shall wear a cassock of cloth except he have express permission.

I have spoken of Chapters 191, 192, 193, 194 and 196, which relate to the assembly of Chapters-General, the affiliation of houses and other matters, and I have compared them with the *Carta Caritatis* of the Order of Citeaux.

Chapter 197. 'That no one shall seek to persuade a person who offers himself as a lay-brother, nor try to draw him into his own House when he wishes to attach himself to another.

Chapter 198. 'If a certain Canon or lay brother leaves his Convent secretly and flees to another, that he shall be invited to return ; if he refuses to do so, he shall be given hospitality for one night, and if he still wears the Canonical habit, it shall be taken from him, unless he was a Canon before entering our Congregation.'

Chapter 199. 'From the ides of September until Easter we fast every day except Sundays. We exercise the same abstinence in Advent as in Lent, except on " nine lesson feasts." ' '

Chapter 200. 'The Abbot shall take care to provide the habits of the brethren as religious Orders and the profession of poverty allow, so that they murmer neither at the colour or the quality of their habits. He shall permit them to have three tunics, one pellisse or gown of fur, a surplice, an almuce, a cope, hosen, buskins and over-socks, and for working a scapulary. For bed-clothes they shall have a woollen mattress, a bolster and a bed-cover or sheet.'

It is certainly surprising to meet here with the scapulary and not the rochet. I shall give the reason of it when I give an account of the Chapter-General of 1233.

Chapter 201. 'On all the fast days where work is allowed we do it at one time—between Chapter, which is held after tierce, and nones. When we are not fasting we work at two times in the day, after Chapter, which follows prime, until tierce, and between nones and vespers.'

Chapter 202. 'All the brethren, clerk or lay, shall keep a continual silence within the limits of the House unless to cry " fire " or " thief." Whoever comes to the monastery, be they parents or strangers, no brother shall ask permission to speak to them.'

This chapter was, as I have said, the last in the Book of the Order. The thirty-seven which follow are the statutes added subsequently according to need. Many concern the particular discipline of the lay-brethren. I relegate several of them, which cannot interest my readers, to the margin ; those which relate to the reception and proving of novices will be found below, and I shall give the whole of Chapter 236, which contains the various constitutions passed by the Chapter-General.

'It has been decreed that no clerk or lay-brother, fugitive from our Order, shall be allowed to re-enter the Abbey or Cell from which he has fled, except by the express command

of his Abbot, and after he shall have besought mercy at the gate, long and with humility. If he has the presumption to re-enter, despite this prohibition, that he shall never again be received.

'If an Abbot, being summoned by the Abbot of Arrouaise, for reasons concerning the Order, refuse to come, he shall be punished by deprivation of wine during forty days, he shall fast on bread and water and be deprived of his stall for the same period.

'The same penalty has been decreed against the Abbots of our Order, who do not arrive at the general Chapter at the proper hour, that is to say before Chapter on St. Matthew's Day, etc.

'It has been decreed that every Abbot who will not pay on the appointed day that part of the charges for the support of the affairs of the Order, with which he has been taxed by the Abbot of Arrouaise and four other arbiters, shall be suspended from the divine office until he shall have submitted to their ruling.

'And because the conduct of many elections has been irregular, in that the Father Abbot has not been called or advised thereof, it is decreed that the election or promotion of any one who has thus been elected shall be null and void, unless the Father-Abbot shall have been present (if it be at all possible), or at least the two nearest Abbots of our Order, this conduct being contrary to the privileges granted by the court of Rome.

'Any prelate or "religious" who shall be convicted of having appealed to any tribunal whatever outside the Order, for whatever cause it may be, or shall have obtained letters, be it a Prelate against his Subordinate, or a Subordinate against his Prelate, or who, in contempt of the Order, shall have invoked any stranger to judge in the affairs of the Order in any matter which the Order itself might have judged, shall be at once deprived of all office and condemned to live away from his house for one year; after which time, if he be worthy he shall be permitted to return there, but he shall hold the lowest place, and no one shall confer upon him any office, however small, except by consent of the general Chapter.

'In the same way, if any Officer cannot render an exact account of his office, he shall be sent by his Abbot, to live in another house for at least a year and he shall not be permitted to return except by consent of the general Chapter; if he obtain a new office a like dispensation shall be necessary to confirm it to him.'

It will be seen by this sketch of the Arrouaisian Constitutions that they closely resembled the Use and Customs of Citeaux. It is for this reason that they have also some resemblance to the rules that M. de Rance has edited of the Abbey of La Trappe. Also Caramuel, Abbot of the Cistercian Order, would not agree that the Arrouaisians were true Canons regular. A process on the subject of precedence between the Abbot of St. John of Valenciennes of the Arrouaisian Congregation and he of St. Saviour of the Benedictine Order and decided in favour of the former by decree of the sovereign Council of Mechlin, September 10, 1632; Espagnol the savant had been engaged to defend the cause of the Benedictines. He pretended that since the reform of Gervaise, the 'religious' of the Order or Congregation of Arrouaise, which he called Gervasiens, were neither Monks nor Canons, but something between the two—'Cistercian Canons,' to use his own term; an idea at once false and absurd, which was cleverly controverted by a religious of the Abbey of Eckhout at Bruges. It is certain (and each preceding page has shown it) that before and after the reform of Gervaise the Bulls of the sovereign Pontiffs, the decrees of Bishops, and all acts concerning the religious of the Abbey and Order of Arrouaise have invariably given them the title of Canons.

Gervaise had already governed the Order of Arrouaise for twenty-five years when he surrendered the charge of so heavy a burden and thought to pass the rest of his days in seclusion. Aluise, Abbot of Anchin, had replaced Robert in the See of Arras. It was in his

hands that Gervaise, in spite of the remonstrances of the whole Order, placed his resignation of the Abbacy and Generalship at the close of the year 1147. He continued long in the exercise of all the virtues. He retained the title of Abbot, and was always obliged to take an important part in the administration up to the time of his death, which occurred on September 18, 1171. It is remarkable that he had been able to establish so strict a reform, especially among the Canons regular, who were obliged to undertake the care of souls. It is true that he placed several Religious in each Cure or Priory and in the larger cells with the obligation to live there as in the Mother-House; but could these Religious, living outside the Cloister, preserve in them for long the spirit of the rule? And when they were recalled, was it easy for them to take it up again? One thing at least must have been pleasing to the first general of the Arrouaisians—to see his reform approved and embraced by St. Malachy of Armagh and St. Laurence of Dublin. It was no less glorious for this reform to have produced men like Baudin, Bishop of Noyon, and Milo II, Bishop of Térouanne. I might add the name of a third Bishop, named Benedict, included in the necrology of Arrouaise on December 11th, and a large number of Abbots coming also from the community of Arrouaise, who were the first to introduce the Institution into their respective houses either in France or abroad. The friendship which united Gervaise and St. Bernard and the gifts with which Matilda Queen of England and many of the great people of his century honoured him, prove no less that he truly merited the eulogies given him by Gautier in the preface to his Chartulary.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL REMAINS OF THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER IN ENGLAND, WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES TO THE BEST PUBLISHED PLANS

ASHBY CANONS PRIORY (Northants). Remains of Church.

BEESTON PRIORY (Norfolk). Remains of Cruciform Church, Cloister on south.

BICKNACRE PRIORY (Essex). One arch of Church standing.

BILSINGTON PRIORY (Kent). Building of doubtful attribution.

BLACKMORE PRIORY (Essex). Remains of Priory Church. *Plan* in Buckler's 'Essex Churches.'

BOLTON PRIORY (Yorks.). Nave used as Parish Church, Quire and Transepts ruined, domestic buildings levelled, Chapter-house octagonal. *Plan* in 'Builder,' Vol. LXVIII, p. 332.

*BOURN ABBEY (Lincs.). Nave of Abbey Church, and S.W. Tower.

BRADENSTOKE PRIORY (Wilts.). Frater range on N. of Cloister.

BRIDLINGTON PRIORY (Yorks.). Nave and West Towers form Parish Church, rest destroyed; Chapter-house was decagonal. *Plan* in 'Monastic Ruins of Yorkshire,' W. Richardson, Vol. II.

BRINKBURN PRIORY (Northumberland). Cruciform Church restored, rest destroyed. *Plan* in 'Durham and Northumberland Arch. Soc. Jour.,' Vol. I.

BRISTOL ABBEY (Gloucester). Quire and Transepts now the Cathedral, Chapter-house, parts of Cloister, etc., Gate-house. *Plan* in 'Archæologia,' Vol. LXIII, p. 231.

BURSCOUGH PRIORY (Lancs.). One pier of Central Tower, Church and part of Cloister have been excavated. *Plan* in 'Lancashire and Cheshire Hist. Soc.,' New Ser., Vol. V.

BUTLEY PRIORY (Suffolk). Fine Gate-house.

*CARLISLE CATHEDRAL PRIORY (Cumberland). Church complete except part of Nave (destroyed), Frater, Gate-house, etc. Chapter-house was octagonal. *Plan* in 'Builder,' Vol. LXIV, p. 346.

CARTMEL PRIORY (Lancs.). Church cruciform and intact, Gate-house; Cloister was on north. *Plan* in 'Builder,' LXXVII, p. 324.

CHETWODE PRIORY (Bucks.). Presbytery of Church, now Parish Church. *Plan* in R. Com. on Historical Mons. Bucks., Vol. II.

CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY (Hants.). Church Cruciform, with West Tower, all intact; rest destroyed. *Plan* in 'Builder,' Vol. LXI, p. 66.

COKESFORD PRIORY (Norfolk). Remains of crossing of Church and other fragments, partly excavated.

COLCHESTER ST. BOTOLPH PRIORY (Essex). Seven bays of Nave in ruins; fine west front.

CREYK ABBEY (Norfolk). Considerable remains of Transepts and Quire, Nave destroyed.

*DORCHESTER ABBEY (Oxon.). Church intact, except part of North Transept; remains of Gate-house. Cloister was on north. *Plan* in 'Builder,' Vol. LXXVIII, p. 11.

Convents marked * were Arrouaisian.

DUNMOW, LITTLE, PRIORY (Essex). Lady Chapel south of Quire is used as Parish Church; rest destroyed. Partly excavated. *Plan* in 'Essex Arch. Soc,' Trans. Vol. XIII, N.S.

DUNSTABLE PRIORY (Beds.). Bays of Nave used as Parish Church; Gate-house; rest destroyed. *Plan* in 'Builder,' Vol. LXXIX, p. 12.

GUISBOROUGH PRIORY (Yorks.). East end of Church standing, Gate-house and undercroft of building south of Cloister, Church part excavated. *Plan* in V.C.H. Yorks N.R. Vol. II.

GLOUCESTER ST. OSWALD. (Gloucester). North Arcade of Nave only standing. *Plan* (unreliable) in 'Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.,' Vol. XIII.

HARDHAM PRIORY (Sussex). Remains of Chapter-house and S. range. *Plan* in 'Sussex Arch. Colls.,' Vol. XVIII, p. 54.

HAUGHMOND ABBEY (Salop). Remains of Cloister, Chapter-house, Infirmary Hall and Abbot's Lodging, completely excavated. *Plan* in 'Arch. Jour,' Vol. LXVI.

HEXHAM PRIORY (Northumberland). Quire and Transepts used as Parish Church, Nave recently rebuilt; remains of Cloister, Gate-house, etc. *Plan* in 'Builder,' Vol. LXXVI, p. 322.

KENILWORTH ABBEY (Warwick). Gate-house, Chapter-house was polygonal.

KEYNSHAM ABBEY (Somerset). Partly excavated. *Plan* in 'Brit. Arch. Ass. Jou.,' Vol. XXXI.

KIRKHAM PRIORY (Yorks.). Remains of east end Church, Cloister, Gate-house, etc. *Plan* in 'Yorkshire Arch. Soc. Excursion,' 1886.

LANERCOST PRIORY (Cumberland). Nave used as Parish Church, Quire and Transepts ruined, remains of west and south ranges. *Plan* in 'Builder,' Vol. LXXV, p. 292.

LATTON PRIORY (Essex). Crossing and adjoining parts of Church.

LAUNCESTON PRIORY (Cornwall). Excavated. *Plan* in 'Builder,' August 24, 1895.

LEEDS PRIORY (Kent). No remains; part excavated, apsidal East Crypt.

LEIGHS LITTLE PRIORY (Essex). Excavated. *Plan* 'Essex in Arch. Soc.,' Vol. XIII, N.S.

LILLESHALL ABBEY (Salop). Remains of Church, etc. *Plan* in 'British Arch Ass. Jour.,' Vol. XVII.

LLANTHONY NEW PRIORY (Gloucester). Remains of Gate-house, Barn, etc.

LLANTHONY OLD PRIORY (Monmouth). Remains of Cruciform Church, Chapter-house, Frater, west range, Infirmary and Gate-house. *Plan* in 'Builder,' Vol. LXXVI.

LONDON, HOLY TRINITY PRIORY. No remains. *Plan* in 'Home Counties Magazine.'

LONDON. ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S PRIORY. Quire and part of Transepts and Nave now Parish Church, remains of west front, Chapter-house and Cloister. *Plan* in 'Archæologia,' Vol. LXIV, p. 176.

LONDON, ELSING SPITAL. Base of Tower now St. Alphege. *Plan* in 'Architec. Review,' 1907.

MAXSTOKE PRIORY (Warwick). Remains of Church Infirmary, Gate-house, etc. *Plan* in 'Birm. and Mid. Institute,' Vol. V.

MICHELHAM PRIORY (Sussex). Undercroft incorporated in house, Gate-house, etc.

*MISSENDEN ABBEY (Bucks.). Remains of E. and S. ranges incorporated in house.

MOTTISFONT PRIORY (Hants.). Remains of Cruciform Church, west and east ranges; incorporated in house, partly excavated. *Plan* in 'V.C.A. Hants.,' Vol. IV.

NEWARK PRIORY (Surrey). Remains of Quire and Transepts, Sacristy, Gate-house, etc. *Plan* in 'Builder,' November 26, 1898.

NEWSTEAD PRIORY (Notts.). West Front of Church, remains of Cloister and ranges incorporated in house. *Plan* in 'British Arch. Ass. Jour.,' Vol. IX.

*NUTLEY ABBEY (Bucks.). Remains of south and west ranges incorporated in House. *Plan* in 'Hist. Mon. Commiss. Report, South Bucks.'

Convents marked * were Arrouaisian.

Oxford, St. Frideswide Priory. Now the Cathedral, part of Nave destroyed, Cloister, Chapter-house, Frater, etc. *Plan* in 'Builder,' Vol. LXII, p. 440.

Pentney Priory (Norfolk). Fine Gate-house.

Porchester Priory (Hants.). Church is Parish Church. *Plan* in 'V.C.H. Hants.,' Vol. III.

Pynham Priory (Sussex). Remains of Church incorporated in House.

Repton Priory (Derby). Excavated. *Plan* in 'Arch. Jou.,' Vol. XLI.

Royston Priory (Herts.). Quire now Parish Church. *Plan* in 'V.C.H. Herts.,' Vol. III.

St. Germains Priory (Cornwall). Nave now Parish Church. *Plan* in 'Exeter Dios. Architec. Soc.,' 1st Ser., Vol. III.

St. Olave Priory (Suffolk). Excavated; no *plan* published.

St. Osyth Abbey (Essex). Fine Gate-house and remains of other buildings, Cloister was on north.

Shulbrede Priory (Sussex). Remains of S. and W. ranges; *Plan* in 'Sussex Arch. Collections,' Vol. XLIX, p. 39.

Southwark, St. Mary Overy Priory (Surrey). Now Cathedral; Nave rebuilt, Cloister was on north. *Plan* in Dolman's St. Saviour's Church.

Stavordale Priory (Somerset). Church now a barn.

Thoby Priory (Essex). Remains incorporated in house, Cloister was on north.

Thornton Abbey (Lincs.). Remains of Cruciform Church, octagonal Chapter-house, etc., fine Gate-house. *Plan* in Associated Architec. Soc. Report, 1852.

Thurgarton Priory (Notts.). Part of Nave now Parish Church and W. range. *Plan* in 'Thoroton Soc.,' Vol. V.

Tortington Priory (Sussex). Remains of Nave Arcade; excavated. *Plan* not yet published.

Trentham Priory (Staffs.). Part of Church.

Ulverscroft Priory (Leicester). Remains of Church, West Tower, etc. *Plan* in 'British Arch. Ass. Jour.,' Vol. XIX.

Walsingham Priory (Norfolk). East end of Church, remains of Frater, Gate-house, etc.; partly excavated. *Plan* in Harrod's 'Castles and Convents of Norfolk.'

Waltham Abbey (Essex). Nave, now Parish Church; remains of Gate-house, Slype, etc.; Cloister was north of Quire. *Plan* in 'Builder,' Vol. LXXIV, p. 326.

*Warter Priory (Yorks.). No remains; partly excavated. No *plan* published.

Westacre Priory (Norfolk). Remains of Gate-house, Church, etc., very fragmentary; outbuildings.

Weybourn Priory (Norfolk). Remains of Conventual Quire, east of Parish Church, etc.

Wigmore Abbey (Hereford). Remains of Church (Cruciform) excavated; no *plan* published.

Worksop Priory (Notts.). Nave now Parish Church, Gate-house, etc. *Plan* in 'British Arch. Ass. Jour.,' Vol. XXX.

Worspring Priory (Somerset). Tower of Church, etc. *Plan* in 'Somerset Arch. Soc. Trans.,' Vol. XXXI.

Convents marked * were Arrouaisian.

APPENDIX D

VISITATION OF ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM

Extract from 'Registrum Epistolarum Johannes Peckham,' Rolls Series, Vol. ii, p. 625.

1283. *Oct. 24th.* Sends injunction, which he desires him to see observed by the Abbey of Lesnes.

To the Bishop of Rochester:

Frater J(ohannes), permissione divina Cantuariensis ecclesiae minister humilis, totius Angliae primas, venerabili fratri domino Thomae, Dei gratia Roffensi episcopo, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Transeuntes nuper per monasterium de Lesnes, vestrae dioecesis, et auctoritate metropolitica visitationis officium inibi exercentes, invenimus abbatem loci ejusdem super multiplici bonorum ecclesiae laesione notatum. Super quo praesens, per nos ad rationem positus, nobis respondendo minime satisfecit, unde in remedium dilapidationis seu laesionis, honorum hujusmodi taliter ibidem duximus ordinandum. Ut videlicet tres fratres de ipso collegio per conventum elegantur, ad quorum manus omnia bona monasterii interiora et exteriora, illis duntaxat exceptis, quae ab antiquo sunt certis officiis assignata, deveniant. A quibus tam abbas, quam ceteri officiales domus necessarias expensas recipiant, et de expensis eisdem tribus canonicis rationem fidelem reddere teneantur. Inhibemus autem sub poena excommunicationis, quam ipso facto incurrere volumus, omnes ex certa scientia contrarium facientes ne abbas, seu quivis alius officialis, cui nihil certum est sicut praemisimus assignatum, alio modo quocunque bona ecclesiae audeat ullatenus contrectare, ut sic omnia facta abbatis et aliorum officialium domus per dictos custodes deducantur in lucem, nihilque cedat in usus privatos, sed omnia in utilitatem communem ecclesiae convertantur. Praeterea invenimus quod canonici carnes non comedunt in refectorio communi, sed pro carnium esu ad camerulas quasdam et alia loca privata contra disciplinae regularis observantiam se divertunt. Circa quod expediens esse credimus ut praedicti canonici tribus diebus in ebdomada carnes comedant in refectorio, sicut in plerisque locis ordinis ejusdem comperimus observatum. Interdicentes omnino ne de cetero totus conventus pro esu carnium a refectorio emittatur. Sed si contingat eos juxta consuetudinem domus in refectorio carnes minime comedere et oporteat eos carnis edulio aliquotiens recreari, praecipimus ut semper duae partes conventus maneant in refectorio, et tertia pars tantummodo pro recreatione hujusmodi emittatur. Nec alio modo de cetero liceat ipsis canonicis carnes sumere sive in camera abbatis sive ubicunque alibi infra domum. Ad haec ne moniales amodo infra monasterii claustrum pernoctare sinantur, firmiter inhibemus. Abbatem autem ipsum in sua potestate permittimus ordinandi domus negotia, et alia exercendi quae officio suo incumbunt, sed sine scitu et administratione dictorum trium canonicorum bona domus nullatenus contrectandi. Ipsi insuper custodes bonorum hujusmodi de administratione sua teneantur conventui respondere. Igitur fraternitati vestrae committimus et districte praecipiendo mandamus, quatenus præscripta omnia faciatis a prædictis abbate et conventu inviolabiliter observari, certificaturi nos super hoc cum a nobis fueritis requisiti. In cujus rei testimonium praesentem paginam sigilli nostri fecimus appensione muniri. Valete. Datum apud Mortelak. ix Kal Novembris, anno Domini MCCLXXXIII, ordinationis nostrae quinto.

APPENDIX E

NOTE ON THE DISPOSAL OF OBJECTS FOUND, ETC.

THE disposal of the various relics found on the site was left entirely in the hands of the Works Committee, the Governors of Christ's Hospital merely requiring to know of their ultimate destination; and with the exception of the coloured and gilt effigy (Plates XIX, XX), and the three carved capitals (Plate XXIV, *a*, *b*, *c*), which were acquired by the Board of Education and are now exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington, and the two bronze candle-holders (Plate XXVI), which were presented to the British Museum, the great bulk of the objects was removed to Erith Church, where it remains under the care of the Vicar, Churchwardens, and Church Council. The Woolwich Antiquarian Society undertook to exercise a general supervision over the remains, and to report to the Church authorities any bad usage or neglect that was apparent.

The most important objects are the marble sepulchral slabs (Figs. 9, 10, *g*, *h*, *i*), which have been fixed in an upright position round the interior walls of the tower. That of Avelina (Fig. 10, *f*), together with one of the stone coffins from the Chapter-house, is in the Wheatley, or South-East, Chapel, where are also displayed tiles, pottery fragments, glass, and various miscellaneous objects, including most of those shown on Plate XXVI.

In the clergy vestry are many fragments of moulded stonework—capitals, bases, and tabernacle work—and on the wall are panels of inlaid tiles, suitably framed in oak. The fireplace has been reconstructed from voussoirs of vaulting ribs from the north-eastern transeptal chapels.

The site of the Abbey—Baldock's Farm—is a few yards from the termini of the London County Council and the Bexley District Council Tramways at Abbey Wood, and about a mile west of Erith Church. The tenant, Mr. Baldock, is generally willing—at such times as the ground is not occupied with crops—to allow visitors to inspect the remains, the chief of which are the north wall of the refectory, with the pulpit recess (Plate XVI), and the serving hatch from the kitchen (Fig. 6), the dorter stairs (Plate XV), the cloister (Plate XIII), the north wall of the church (Plate VIII), and the cloister doorway (Plate XV and Fig. 7). The rest of the foundations had to be covered in according to the terms of an agreement made with the Christ's Hospital authorities.

INDEX

PAGE

A

Abell, Richard 24
Abell, William 36
Abbot Elyas' tomb slab found 13
Abbot of Lesnes claims a gallows 11
  Claims wreck of sea 13
  Election procedure 26, 27, 28
  Inducts Richard Wendover into See of Rochester 11
  Inns Thames Marshes 12
  Represents Abbot of St. Augustine, Canterbury 11
  Summoned to Parliament 11
Abbot's Lodging 60
  Garde robes 53
  Retained as Manor House 37
Accounts of Abbey 25
Accounts, Sacrist's 17, 21, 28, 56
Advowson of Lesnes Church granted to Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate 2
Alan, sixth Abbot of Lesnes 11
Albini, William de 4
Alcock, John, Bishop of Ely 29
Alexander VI, Pope 29
Alneto, Hugh de 10
Alphege, Cripplegate, St. 18
Altars in the Church 17, 22
Altar, Remains of High 44
Altar in Sacristy, No traces of 50
Alvithele, *see* Aveley.
Ambitious scale of building 40
Annesley, Thomas 42
Approach to Infirmary 60
Appropriation of Aveley Church 15
Archbishop Reynolds shelters from the mob at Lesnes 14
Arches, Court of 16
Architectural fragments 67, 68
Architectural rules of Augustinians very elastic . 40
Arms of Abbey 22, 31, 32
Arras 7
Arrouaise, Abbey of 7
Arrouaisian Order 7, 34
  Rule accepted at Lesnes 7
  Houses in England 7
  General Chapter of 8
Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury 20
Assessment of Abbey 29
Athol, John, Earl of 13
Augustine of Hippo, Saint 32, 33
Augustinian Churches preserved 40
  Conventual Arrangements 40
  Houses in Kent 1
  Houses at close of the Middle Ages . . . 29

PAGE

Avanel, Richard 10
Aveley Church appropriated 15
Aveley, Essex 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 20, 23
Avelina, daughter of Rich. de Lucy 65

B

Baldwins Manor 36
Bardolph, Hugh 6
Barns, The 28, 42
Base and Capital, coupled 70
Baupaume 7
Bayse, Wm., Sub-Prior 2, 25
Becket, Thomas à 2, 5, 17
Bench in Chapter-house, Double 50
Benedictine plan followed 40, 58
Benedict, Saint 32
Benefactors to the Abbey 33
Benet, Thomas, Abbot of Lesnes 24
Benfleet Parish, South 23, 37
Bere, John 26
Berkhamstead 5
Bequests to the Abbey 29
Bexley, Kent 21, 23
Bible, Thomas, Prior 27
Bishop of Rochester obtains Manor of Beresh by Cuxton 11
Bixile, *see* Bexley.
Blakemore, Henry, Abbot of Lesnes . 23, 25, 26, 27, 29
Bodleian Library 37
Bohun, William, Earl of Northampton . . . 18
Bohun, Elizabeth 18
Boleyn, Anne 37
Books in Lesnes Library 32, 33
Bostall, Kent 1, 21
Bouser, Robert le 17
Braose, the younger, William de 4
Brass to Roger Sencler 35
Breach of Frater Rule 12
Brereton, William 37
Brew-House, The 56, 57
Breyn, Christiana 10
Breyn, Robert 10
Bright, William, Abbot of Lesnes 24, 27
Bright, John 25
Brinkburn and Lesnes compared 43
British Museum 53
Brokhole, John, Abbot of Lesnes 20
Broke Wharfe, London 18, 23
Bromley, Kent 11
Brown, William 26
Brumle, William 19
Building activity 28

PAGE

Building of Lady Chapel 18
Burbank, William 30
Burial of Godfrey de Lucy, place uncertain . . 8
Burial of Richard de Lucy at Lesnes 2
Burial vaults in Lady Chapel 48
Bybg of Crayford 22

C

Canons of Lesnes drawn from Holy Trinity, Aldgate 4
Canterbury 1, 13, 17
Capitals now at Victoria and Albert Museum . . 68
Catchnath, Suffolk 13
Catherine Coleman, Saint 23
Cellars below present farmhouse 60
Cemetery, Passage to the 51
Chalk built vaults 46
Chantry founded, Faunts 35
Chantry founded by John of Hoddesdon . . . 15
Chapel of Infirmary 59
Chapel in London Inn of Abbot 10
Chapter-house 50
Interments in the 51
Chapter of Arrouaise, General 8
Charters, Lesnes Abbey 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 36
Charter of Strood Hospital 36
Charrynge (Charing), Kent 27
Chatham, John de 10
Chatham, Richard, Prior of Ledes 26
Chauncens, Roger de 14
Cheapside, Abbot's nets burned in 14
Chertsey type tiles 67
Chislehurst, Lands at 13, 38
Christ's Hospital obtains estates 39
Christ's Hospital Plan 39, 41, 42, 61
Church, The Abbey 43
Repairs to 17
Ruinous 15
Destroyed 37
Church, Lesnes Parish 40
Churches appropriated to the Abbey . . . 4, 15
Church, Roger 24
Cistertian influence on plan 43
Clarke, John 29
Clarence, Lionel, Duke of 33
Clement VII, Pope 29
Clement, Richard 29, 42
Cloister, original plan 49
Clopton, Cambs. 9, 23
Clyve, Robert de, Abbot of Lesnes 16
Cobham, John de 11
Coffin slab of Abbot Fulc 8
Coldred, Kent 4, 10
Colman, John, Abbot of Lesnes . . . 21, 22, 24, 33
Combes, Suffolk 13
Comestor, Peter 33
Commission on Sea Walls and Dykes 24
Conduit Pond, The 61
Confirmation Charters 4, 6, 9, 36
Conventual Arrangements of Augustinian Order . 40
Convent petitions the King 26, 27
Cooke, Edmund 37
Cooke, Henry 37
Cooke, Lambert 37
Cope, John, Sub-Prior 24, 25
Cope, William 27
Cornbarns 42

PAGE

Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Library of . . 2
Cost of reclaiming marsh 11
Cost of repairs 22
Coupled Base and Capital 70
Court of Arches 16
Court Rolls of Faunts Manor 36
Lesnes Manor 35
Thorney Lesons Manor 36, 37
Coutances, Walter de 6
Crabbe, Lawrence 22
Crayford, Kent 22, 23
Creck, John de 13
Cripplegate, London 23
Crown, Patron, The 18

D

Dartford, Roger de, Abbot of Lesnes 14
Dartford, Kent 13, 14, 21, 23, 36
Date of present walls 39
Death of Godfrey de Lucy 8
Death of Richard de Lucy 2
Dedication of Altars 17
Dedication of Lesnes Abbey 2
Demolition of Augustinian domestic buildings . 40
Dene, William de 14
Deprivation of Abbot John of Hoddesdon . . 15
Deptford, Kent 24
Descent of the Abbey estates 37
Destruction of Church and buildings 37
Diocese of Rochester 1
Dispute between Lesnes Abbey and Holy Trinity, Aldgate 13
Dissolution, value of Abbey at 31
Distribution of Canons at 31
Distribution of library at 32
Distribution of water 61
Ditton, Kent 5
Doorway to Parlour 56
Dorter, The 51
Dorter sub vault 52
Double plinth course 44, 45
Double bench in Chapter House 50
Dove Cote, The 61
Dover, Robert de 9
Richard de 13
Roesia de 9
Fulbert de 9
Draper, Family of 35
Draper, Thomas 29, 42
Drithford, John de 16
Dugdale 7
Dykes, Commission on Sea Walls and 24
Dykes repaired at great expense 15

E

Earl of March, Patron 18
Early discoveries 37
Early lawsuits 10, 11
Ecclesiastical Taxation of Pope Nicholas . . . 13
Edmund, Earl of March 18
Edward I 13
Edward III 18
Edward, The Black Prince 18
Effigy found in vault in Lady Chapel . . . 48, 62
Election of Abbot, Proceedings at . . 25, 26, 27, 28

PAGE

Elmdon, Kent 4, 5, 20
Elmdon, John, Abbot of Lesnes. 20
Ely, Richard de 4
Elyas, ninth Abbot of Lesnes 13, 63
Endowments of Augustinian Houses 1
Endowments of the Abbey 3, 4, 6, 9, 10
English Arrouaisian houses 7
Enlargement of Lady Chapel 18
Entrance to Chapter-house 50
Entrance to Infirmary Hall 59
Entry, The 56
Epitaph of Godfrey de Lucy 9
Richard de Lucy 4
Erith, Parish of 1, 35, 42
Esher, Surrey 37
Estates bequeathed to Christ's Hospital . . . 39
Estates, Descent of the Abbey 37
Estuary of the Thames 1
Eton, Berkshire 29
Eugenius III, Pope 7
Evesham, Battle of 11
Excavations, Objects found in 62
Execution of Wm. Brereton 37
Existing remains of Augustinian Order . . . 40
Expenses of repairs 22
Expense of repairing dykes 15
Extant remains 53, 56
Eynesford, Kent 23

F

Fabric in ruins 16
Farmhouse on site of Abbot's Lodging 60
Faunt, Joan 16
Faunt, William 16, 35
Faunts Chantry founded 35
Faunts Manor 16, 35, 36, 37
Faversham, Kent 12
Fawkham, Kent 23
Ferink, Thomas, Canon 24
Ferry across River Thames 13
Financial difficulties 12, 15, 16
Fireplace in Infirmary 59
Fireplace in Warming House 52
Fisher, John, Bishop of Rochester . . 26, 28, 29, 30
Fisher, Godfrey 21
Fishponds or Stews 42
Fitz-Alan, Nicholas 9
Fitz-Piers, Geoffrey 7
Fitz-Robert, Walter 9
Fitz-Walter, Family of 67
Floods in the Thames 11
Folietio, Hugo de 33
Forest, Lesnes 18
Forz, William de 6
Foundation of Lesnes Abbey 2
Foundation Charter of Lesnes Abbey 4
Franceys, Adam, Mayor of London 16
Frater, The 53–56
Screens 54
Pulpit 54
Rule broken 12
Fraudulent practices 19
Fulc, second Abbot of Lesnes 7, 8, 65
Coffin slab of 8
Fulham's Place Manor 36
Fuller 31

G

PAGE

Gallery from Abbot's Lodging to Dorter . . . 52
Gallows claimed by Abbot 11
Gamlingay, Cambs. 10, 23
Garde Robe of Abbot's Lodging 53
Gatehouses, The 42
Gayton, Rich. de, Abbot of Lesnes 16
Genealogy of de Lucy family . . . 5, 9, 20, 21
General Chapter of Arrouaise 8
Geoffrey de Lucy confirms grant of Lesnes Church to Holy Trinity, Aldgate 2
Geometrical designs on tiles 67
Gervaise of Canterbury 2, 4
Gilbert, Bishop of London 6
Gilbert de Vere, Morant's confusion re 6
Gisors, John, Mayor of London 14
Glanville, Gilbert de 5
Glass, Stained 67
Godfrey de Lucy, Bishop of Winchester . . . 8
A Patron of Lesnes . . . . . *ib.*
His house in the Strand . . . . . *ib.*
His work at Winchester . . . . . *ib.*
His death . . . . . *ib.*
Uncertainty as to his place of burial . . . *ib.*
Tomb and epitaph . . . . . *ib.*
Godstone 5, 23
Gonville and Caius, MSS. 33
Gosse, Monsieur 7
Grandon John 26
Grannson, Lord 24
Granville, Ranulph de 4
Gravesend, Stephen, Bishop of London . . . 15
Gravesend, Kent 24
Gray, John de, Bishop of Norwich 10
Great Barn, The 42, 43
Great Gate, The 42
Great Hall of Abbot's Lodging 60
Great Hall of Infirmary 58
Greenwich, Kent 10, 13, 14, 23, 24
Gregory of Lesnes, Canon 10
Grenestrete (Green), Kent 23
Guest House 42, 56, 60
Guests excessive at Abbey 15
Guildhall, London 14

H

Hale, Robert 25, 26, 27
Halifeld, Adam de, Abbot of Lesnes 14
Hall of Infirmary 58
Hamo 5
Hampole, Richard 33
Hankere, Robert 16
Hankere, William 16
Hansard, John, Precentor (*see* Haunsard) . . . 17
Hatfield, Joan 18
John de 16, 18
Margery 18
Miles 18
Thomas de (Bishop of Durham) . . . 16, 18
Family 18
Haughmond and Lesnes compared 43
Haunsard, John, Abbot of Lesnes 18, 19
Hawes, Thomas, Will of 39
Haybarns 42
Hedd, Thomas 27, 28
Hegham, William de, Sacrist 17

PAGE

Heliere, Henry, Abbot of Lesnes 19
Henry II 2, 4, 6
Henry VI 29
Heraldic tiles 67
Herbal cures 25
Hert, Simon le 7
Hethe, William de, Abbot of Lesnes . . . 17, 18
High Altar, Remains of 44
Hiltoft, John 18
Hippersley, Sir John 37, 39
Hippersley's examination of site 61
Hoddesdon, John of, Abbot of Lesnes, *see* John of Hoddesdon.
Holcote, Henry, Abbot of Lesnes 19
Holy Hole 48
Holy Trinity, Aldgate, did not influence Lesnes . 43
Obtains advowson of Lesnes Church . . . 2
Hoo, Geo., Sub-Prior 20
Hoveden, Roger 2
Hugh, fifth Abbot of Lesnes 10
Hugo of London 9
Hundred of Little and Lesnes 1
Hythe, Hamo de, Bishop of Rochester 14

I

Income of Lesnes Abbey insufficient 3
Indents of Tomb slabs 62, 63
Infirmary 58, 59, 60
Inglethorp, Thomas, Bishop of Rochester . . . 12
Inmates, List of 27
Inning of Thames Marshes 12
Inspeximus of 1317 4
Ipswich, Suffolk 29
Irregular financial control 12
Insula, Walter de 6
Interments in the Chapter House 51
Interments in Presbytery 44
Isabella, Queen 13, 14, 24
Iscanus, Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter . . . 33
Ispania, Robert de 11

J

John, Bishop of Rochester 31
John of Hoddesdon, Abbot of Lesnes 15
Warned by Bishop of Rochester . . . . *ib.*
Deprived . . . . . *ib.*
Outlawed . . . . . *ib.*
Appeals to Rome . . . . . *ib.*
Reconciled . . . . . *ib.*
Founds a Chantry at Lesnes . . . . . *ib.*
Johns, John 27, 28
John, King 9
John of Wadetone 11
John of Wallingford, Canon 11
Jompe, Richard 28
Jordain the Chamberlain 4
Joscelin, Bishop of Bath 10

K

Kentish Augustinian Houses 1
Kentish prelates summoned to Parliament . . 12
Kelleshull, William de 19
Kitchen and Offices, The 54, 55, 56
Knockholt is not Ocholt 36

PAGE

L

Lady Chapel 18, 22, 46, 47
Lambarde 12
Lambe, Thomas 27
Lambeth 14
Lamendby, Thomas 29
Langton, Thomas 16
Lands of Lesnes Abbey . . . 2, 13, 14, 17, 29, 36
La Place 14
Larder House 56
Large Nave 49
Lasse William, Canon 24
Lathe of Sutton at Hone 1
Launde, Robert at 18
Lawsuits, Early 6, 10, 11, 20
Laymen reside in the Abbey 19
Lee, Richard 27
Leland 5
Leman, Sir John 37
Leo, Pope 33
Lesnes Abbey accepts Rule of Arrouaise . . . 7
Accounts 25
Arms 22, 31
Builds river wall 11
Church dedication 2
Churches: Payments to 23, 24
Debts 21
Endowments 3, 4, 6, 9, 10
Foundation of 2
Guests 15
Library at 25
Manors belonging to 11, 20, 35, 36
Not a priory 34
Oblations 21
Officers 34
Possessions 2, 16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 29
Religious houses near 1, 2
Revenue 20, 21, 23, 40
Seals 18, 31
Site 1
Suppressed 30
Tenants 25
Tenements in London 18
Lesnes, Manor of 35, 37
Lesnes, Name of 1
Lesnes, Parish Church of 2, 40
Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxon. . . . 2
Library at Lesnes 14, 25, 32, 33
List of inmates 27
List of relics kept in the Abbey 33
Little and Lesnes Hundred 1
London tumults 14
London inn of the Abbot 10
Longéspée, William, Earl of Salisbury . . . 10
Lowe, John, Bishop 21, 24
'Lucy' or Pike, The 31, 32
Lucy, Family of 33, 67
Genealogy 5, 9, 20, 21
Alice de 9
Anselm de 5, 10, 36
Avelina de 9
Catherine de 5
Godfrey de (Bishop of Winchester) . . 5, 8, 9
Geoffrey de 2, 5, 9, 21, 32, 33
Herbert de 9
John de 8
Katherine de 9

PAGE

Lucy, Family of—
Matilda de 9
Matillis de 9
Maud de 9
Phillip de 8
Raymond de 5
Reynold de 5
Richard de 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 21, 33, 65
Robert de 4, 5, 8, 9
Roesia de 9
Sarah de 9
Sir Walter 20
Walter de 5, 21
Walter de (Abbot of Battle) 9
Lucy the Elder, Robert de 5
Lucy of Gaddesden, Geoffrey de 20
Lucy of Kent 5
Lucy of Newington 5
Luddenham, Kent 13, 23

M

Makyn, John, Canon 24, 27
Mandeville, Wm. de 4
Manor of Baldwins 36
Beresh by Cuxton 11
Faunts 16, 35, 37
Fulham's Place 36
Lesnes 2, 35, 37
Nethewode 35
Ocholt 36
Rainham 6
Schaldreymarsh 37
Thorney Lesons 36
Manors mortgaged 15
Marden, Kent 20, 23
Margaret, Countess of Richmond 29
Mark, third Abbot of Lesnes 10, 32
Market at Lesnes Abbey gate 19
Marshall, William 6
Marsh reclamation, Cost of 11
Marshes of Thames 1
Martin, Robert, Abbot of Lesnes 25
Mary Somerset, London, St. 23
Materials used for Building 40
Matthew of Newington 13
Matthew of Westminster 2
Maxstoke and Lesnes compared 58
Memoranda 26
Metcalfe, Nicholas 26
Michael, Paternoster Royal, St. 10
Michael on Queenhithe, St. 23
Mildred, Bread Street, St. 39
Mildred, Poultry, St. 39
Miracles in Lady Chapel 18
Miscellaneous objects found 70, 71
Misericord 59
Missal belonging to Mr. Yates Thompson . . . 33
Molesworth, Gilbert de, Sacrist 17
Mowbray, Roger de 4
Monastic Houses—
Albans, St., *see* St. Albans.
Aldgate, Holy Trinity, or Christ Church Priory, *see* 'London.'
Ardbury Priory 7
Arrouaise Abbey 7
Barking Abbey 2

PAGE

Monastic Houses—
Battle Abbey 5, 9
Bilsington Priory 1, 26, 27
Blackmore Priory 40, 49
Bolton Priory 40
Bourne Abbey 7, 40
Bradsole Abbey 12
Bridlington Priory 40
Brinkburn Abbey 43
Bristol Abbey (Cathedral) 46
Buildwas Abbey 43, 45
Burscough Priory 43
Byland Abbey 4
Cambridge, St. Radegund Priory 29
Canterbury, St. Augustine Abbey 2, 11, 12, 23, 24
Canterbury, Christ Church Abbey . . . 10, 12
Canterbury, St. Gregory Priory 1
Carlisle Priory (Cathedral) 7
Cartmel Priory 49
Christchurch Priory 40
Clerkenwell, *see* London.
Colchester, St. Botolph Priory 40
Creke Abbey 29
Cumbwell Priory 1
Dartford Nunnery 1
Dorchester Abbey 7, 40, 49
Dunmow Priory, Little 46
Dunstable Priory 40, 44
Faversham Abbey 12
Furness Abbey 43
Greenwich Priory (Observants) 2
Haughmond Abbey 43, 53, 60
Hexham Priory 40, 51
Kirkstall Abbey 43
Lanercost Priory 40
Leeds (Ledes) Priory 1, 5, 21, 26
Leez Priory 43, 46, 49
Leighs, Little, *see* Leez.
Lesnes Abbey . . . . . *passim*
Lewes Priory 4
Lewisham Priory 1
Lilleshall Abbey 7
Little Dunmow Priory, *see* Dunmow.
Little Leighs Priory, *see* Leez.
Llanthony, Old 43
London—
Aldgate Priory . . 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 13, 20, 23, 32, 43, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55
Clerkenwell Priory 14
New Temple 17
Smithfield Priory 40
St. Catherine by the Tower 24
Whitefriars 19
Malling Abbey 16
Maxstoke Priory 58
Missenden Abbey 7, 23
Mount Grace Priory 58
Newark Priory 43
Northampton, St. James Abbey 7
Nutley Abbey 7
Old Llanthony Priory, *see* Llanthony.
Oxford, St. Frideswide Priory 29
Osyth, St., *see* St. Osyth.
Panfield Priory 23
Repton Priory 43, 46, 49
Roche Abbey 43
Rochester Priory (Cathedral) 2, 15
Royston Priory 40

PAGE

MONASTIC HOUSES—
St. Albans Abbey 24
St. Osyth Priory 49
Selby Abbey 45
Smithfield, *see* London.
Southwark, St. Mary Overy Priory . 24, 40, 49
Strood Hospital 7, 36
Sweetheart Abbey 43
Thoby Priory 49
Thurgarton Priory 40
Tonbridge Priory 1
Valle Crucis Abbey 43
Walsingham Abbey 53
Waltham Abbey 2
Warter Priory 7
Westminster Abbey 2, 32
Whitefriars, *see* London.
Winchester Abbey (Cathedral) 8, 9, 48
Worcester Cathedral 8
Friars Minor 20
Worksop Priory 40, 49
MONASTIC ORDERS—
Alien Priories 1, 29
Arrouaisian Order 7, 8, 20, 34
Augustinians . . 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 27, 28, 30, 31, 34, 40, 43, 49, 58
Benedictines 2, 30, 40, 53, 58
Carthusians 40
Cistertians 40, 43, 45
Cluniacs 30, 53
Dominican Nuns 1
Franciscan Observants 2
Hospitallers 14
Premonstratensians 30
Monastic Property diverted to Academic Use . 29, 30
Montfichet, Gilbert de 9, 65
Montfichet, Richard 5
Moore, William 33
Morant's 'Essex' 6
Morden, Thomas 18
Mortgage raised on Manors 15
Mortimer, Edmund, Earl of March 19, 33
Mortimers of Wigmore 18
Motives for the foundation of Lesnes 2
MSS. Gonville and Caius 33
Museum, British 53
Victoria and Albert 63

N

Names of First Suppressed Houses 30
Nave, The 48, 49
Nethewode Manor. 35, 36
Nets burned in Cheapside 14
Newenton, Thomas de, Cellarer 17
Newington, Kent 17, 20, 21, 23
Nicholas, Abbot of St. Augustine 12
Nicholas IV, Pope 13
Night Stairs, No separate 51
North Aisle vaulted 49
Northfleet, Kent 24

O

Objects found in Excavating 62, 70, 71
Oblations to the Abbey 17, 21
Ocholt Manor 12, 36
Officers of the Abbey 34
Order of Arrouaise 7, 34
Orders of First Suppressed Houses 30
Ore, Kent 9, 23
Organ in Lady Chapel 22
Original planning of Church 43
Osbert, the Dean 6
Oven in Infirmary 59
Oxford 6

P

Paintings in Lady Chapel 22
Palmer, Roger, Canon 7, 20
Parliament, Abbot of Lesnes summoned to . . 11
Parliament, Kentish Prelates summoned to . . 12
Parish of Dartford 36
Erith 1, 35, 42
Plumstead 36
South Benfleet 37
Stowmarket 36
Wilmington 36
Parlour, The 51
Parlour, The Outer 56
Passage to the Cemetery 51
Patron, The Crown 18
Patron, Earl of March 18
Paul, Earl of St. 36
Pavements *in situ* 65, 66
Paving Tiles 65, 66, 67
Payments to Abbey Churches 23, 24
Peache, Joan 13
Peckham, John, Archbishop of Canterbury . 12, 16
Peronne 7
Peter, Canon of Holy Trinity 32
Petfield 16
Petition for Chapel in London inn 10
Philippa, Countess of March 33
Philippa, Queen 18
Physical features of Erith 1
Picardy 35
Piers of Tower, remains of 44
Pike or 'Lucy,' The 31, 32
Pilgrimages to Canterbury 17
Plan in possession of Christ's Hospital . 39, 41, 42, 61
Plan of remains by Stukeley 41, 42, 60
Plinth, Double 44
Plumstead Parish 36
Plympton, Thos., Abbot of Lesnes 20, 21
Porter's Lodge 42
Position of lesser Augustinian Houses at end of Middle Ages 29
Position of various buildings 43
Possessions of Abbey 19, 22, 23, 24
Precinct, The 40, 42
Presbytery, The 44
Presbytery pavement 65
Procedure at election of Abbot 26, 27, 28
Processional Entrance to Church, The Western . 56
Public Record Office 22, 35, 36, 37
Pulpit in Frater 54
Pulpitum, The 48
Purchase of lands 13, 14
Purser, Robt., the worker of Miracles 23

R

Rainham, Essex 4, 6, 14, 20, 21, 23
Rainham Church, Litigation re 6
Rainham Manor, Morant's confusion 6

PAGE

Ralph of Coggeshall 2
Ramsden Bellhouse 4, 14
Raynham, Robt. 26
Reasons for destruction of Lesnes Abbey Church . 40
Reasons for preservation of Augustinian Churches 40
Reclamation of Marshes, Cost of 11
Reconciliation of John of Hoddesden 15
Recumbent Effigy 62
Relics kept in the Abbey 33
Religious houses near Lesnes 1, 2
Remains of Augustinian houses in Kent . . . 1
Remains extant 56
Remains of Nave 48
Rents of Abbey 20, 21, 23, 24, 40
Repairs and renewals 17, 22, 28
Rere Dorter 53
Reredos in Lady Chapel 47
Responds of North Aisle vault 49
Re-used Tomb slabs 65
Reynolds, Archbishop 14
Richard I 6, 36
Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury 6
Richard, seventh Abbot of Lesnes 12
Richard, Bishop of London 4, 6
Richard de Lucy becomes a Canon 2
  Buried at Lesnes . . . . . *ib.*
  Died at Lesnes . . . . . *ib.*
  Founds Lesnes Abbey . . . . . *ib.*
  Obtains Manor and Church of Lesnes . . . *ib.*
  Resigns Chief Justiceship . . . . . *ib.*
  Tomb and Epitaph 4
Richard, Prior of Aldgate 10
Richard Wendover inducted into See of Rochester by Abbot of Lesnes 11
River embanked at cost of Abbey 11
River Wall of Thames 1
Ripariis, Richard de 9
Road, Abbey Wood 35
Robert, eighth Abbot of Lesnes 12, 15
Robert le Bouser killed 17
'Robert's Chapel' erected 17
Robert de Lucy's Charter 5
Roches, Peter des 10
Rochester Diocese 1
Roding River 2
Roger, son of Reufrid 4
Roger of Wendover 2
Rokenla, Robert de 9
Rome 11, 15
Rouse, Adam 18
Royal visit to Lesnes 13
Ruinous condition of fabric 15, 16
Rule of Arrouaise 7
Rule of Frater broken 12

S

Sacrist's accounts 17, 21, 28, 56
Sacristy, The 50
Sadler, Sir Ralph 37
Sampson, Wm., Abbot of Lesnes 19, 20
Sandwich, Thos. de, Abbot of Lesnes . . 14, 32, 33
Savaric, Bishop of Bath 6
Say, Adam, Abbot of Lesnes 21
Schaldreymarsh Manor 37
Scheme for foundation of Ipswich School and Cardinal College, Oxford 29

PAGE

Screens in Frater, The 54
Screen wall, Traces found of 44
Seagrim the Younger 8
Seals of the Abbey 18, 31, 32
Sea Walls and Dykes, Commission on 24
Sencler, Roger 35
Seneschal, The 35
Sepulchral Monuments 62, 63, 65
Sergeant, The 35
Serving Hatch from Kitchen to Frater . . . 55
Sheppey, Kent 10
Site of Lesnes Abbey 1
  Dug over 37
  Examined by Sir John Hippersley. . . . 61
  Obtained by William Brereton 37
Sittingbourne, John de 10, 27
Slaughter House, The 56
South door and porch absent from nave . . . 49
South Transept 46
Sparrowe, Thomas 29
Spur ornament of bases 44
Stained glass 67
Stebbing, John 20
Steeplemorden, Cambs 23
Stevens 7
Stevyn, Isabella 22
Stews of Fishponds 42
Stone, Kent 14
Stowmarket, Suffolk 23, 36
Strand, Godfrey de Lucy's house in the . . . 8
Strithale, John de 17
Strood Hospital Charter 36
Stukeley's drawing of the Frater 53, 54
Stukeley's Plan 41, 42, 60
Sunday Market at Lesnes 19
Sunk chamber in Lady Chapel 47, 61
Suppression of Lesnes 30
Sutton at Hone, Kent 10

T

Tenants of Abbey 25
Tenements in London left to Abbey 18
Thames estuary 1
  Floods 11
  Marshes 1, 12
  River wall 1
Thomas, Abbot of Lesnes 16, 36
Thomas the Martyr, Saint, *see* Becket.
Thompson, H. Yates 33
Thornegold, John 18
Thorney Lesons, Manor of 10, 36
Tile Kiln 28, 36
Tiles, Paving 44, 46, 48, 49, 65
Tilesbye, Richard 32
Tomb of Godfrey de Lucy 9
  Rich. de Lucy 4
Tomb Slabs 13, 62, 63, 65
Tong, Kent 12
Tothale, William de 14
Tower, Central 44
Transept, South 45, 46
Tropinal, Adam de 13
Tumults in London 14
Tunstead, Norfolk 47
Tysehurst, William, last Abbot of Lesnes . 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 42

PAGE

U

Umfraville, Odinel de 9
Upper Gate, The 42
Use of Infirmary 58

V

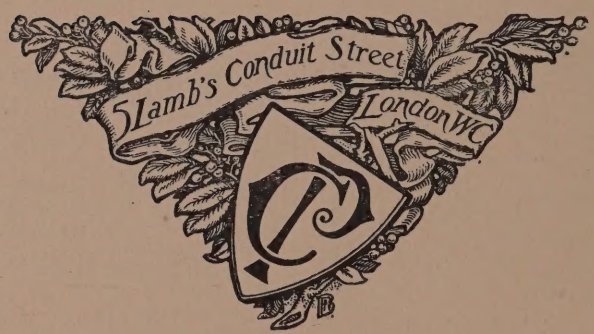
Value of Abbey at dissolution 31
Variants of the name Lesnes 1
Vaults, chalk built 46
Vault Responds in North Aisle 49
Vere, Gilbert de 6
Vezelay 6
Victoria and Albert Museum 63
Visitation of Abbey 12

W

Waleran, Bishop of Rochester 6
Walter, Bishop of Rochester 2
Walkelin of Greenwich 10
Walls, Date of present 39
Walter Lucy, Kt., wishes to be buried at Lesnes . 20
Warenne, Family of 67
Warenne, Wm. de 4
Warming House, The 51, 52

PAGE

Water course through Rere-dorter 53
Water Supply, The 61
Weever's account of early investigations 4, 8, 37, 38
Wells, Bishop 21
Well, Mediaeval 61
Wendout, Robert 17
Wendover, Rich. de 11
Western Processional Entrance to Church . . . 56
Western Range, The 55, 56
Westwood, *alias* Lesnes 5
Whatton, John de 16, 35
Will of Roger Sencler 35
Will of Thomas Hawes 39
William, first Abbot of Lesnes 2, 5, 6
William, fourth Abbot of Lesnes 10
William of Wykeham 29
Willow's Gore, Lesnes 29
Wilmington, Kent 16, 23, 36
Wilton, Roesia de 11
Wilton, William de 11
Winchelsea, Archbishop 13
Window in Dorter west wall 52
Wolkestede, *see* Godstone.
Wolsey, Cardinal 29, 30, 31, 37
Wonersh, Surrey 47
Woolwich, Kent 24
Wreck of the sea claimed by Abbot 13
Wrotham, Wm. de 7



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